

T H E
L E T T E R S
O F
P L I N Y.
V O L. I.

2207

305

THE
LETTERS
OF
PLINY
THE
CONSUL:
With Occasional Remarks.

— *Ille quot Catones!*

AUGUR. ap. PLIN.

VOL. I.



Ravenet Sculp.

LONDON:

Printed for R. DODSLEY at Tully's Head in Pall-mall,
and sold by W. THURLBOURN in Cambridge.

MDCCXLVII,

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ЭНТ
ВЯЗТТЕ

СУДА

ЭНТ
ДИЗИОЗ



ПЛОВ

БОДЫ

МОСКОВСКАЯ

TO THE
EARL
OF
CHOLMONDELEY

THE

Following LETTERS are inscribed,

BY

His LORDSHIP's Obliged

And most Obedient

Humble Servant,

WILLIAM MELMOTH.

卷之三

— 1 —

— 1 —

ELIZAVON, OHIO

1860-1870

T H E P R E F A C E.

PLINY may be considered in these letters as writing his own memoirs : Every epistle is a kind of historical sketch, wherein we have a view of him in some striking attitude, either of active or contemplative life. And if that were his real design in their publication, he could not, it must be confess'd, have taken a more agreeable, nor, perhaps, a more modest method of transmitting himself to posterity. To enter therefore into a detail concerning him, would be only anticipating the author himself, and amusing the Reader with a copy, while the original stands before him. Nothing seems requisite to be farther added to the piece, than just to mark the date. PLINY was born in the reign of Nero, about the eight hundred and fifteenth year of Rome, and the sixty-second of the Christian æra. As to the time of his death, antiquity has given us no information : but it is conjectured that he died

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either a little before, or soon after that excellent Prince, his admir'd TRAJAN; that is, about the year of CHRIST one hundred and sixteen.

THE ease and elegance of this author's manner, adds force to the most interesting, at the same time that it enlivens the most common subjects. But the polite and spirited turn of these Letters, is by no means their principal recommendation; they receive a much higher value, as they exhibit one of the most amiable and animating characters in all antiquity. PLINY's whole life seems to have been employed in the exercise of every generous and social affection. To forward modest merit, to encourage ingenious talents, to vindicate oppress'd innocence, are some of the glorious purposes to which he devoted his power, his fortune, and his abilities. But how does he rise in our esteem and admiration, when we see him exercising (with a grace that discovers his humanity as well as his politeness) the noblest acts both

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both of public and private munificence; not so much from the abundance of his wealth, as the wisdom of his oeconomy!

WHAT a celebrated antient has observed concerning the style of the famous Grecian painter Timanthes, is extremely applicable to that of PLINY, intelligitur plus semper quam pingitur; his meaning is generally much fuller than his expression. This, as it heightens the difficulty of his interpreter's task, so it necessarily gives great scope to an objector. But in drawing after these excellent masters of antiquity, the most successful are only, perhaps, the most excusable; as those who have the truest taste of their works, will least expect to see the strength and spirit of them fully preserved in a copy. This, however, is not mentioned as claiming indulgence to any errors in the present attempt: on the contrary, they are willingly resigned to just correction. A true critic is a kind of censor in the republic of letters; and none who wish

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wish well to its interests, would desire to suppress or restrain his office. The translator at least, has received too much advantage in the course of this performance, from the censures of some of the best critics in both languages, not to value that enlightning art, wherever it is exercised with the same judicious and candid spirit.

The

The Reader is desired to correct the following Errors of the
Press, among some others less material.

V O L. I.

P Age 6. *in the Notes*, for monoplium, *read* monopolium.
P Page 11. *in the Notes*, for nudis, *read* rufis.
P. 18. l. 14. *for* motions, *read* motives.
P. 23. l. 20. *for* doing of nothings, *read* doing of nothing.
P. 58. l. 8. *for* I have no leisure or inclination either to,
read, I have neither leisure nor inclination for.
P. 135. *Let. V.* *for* To Marcus, *read*, To Macer.
P. 196. l. 2. *in the Notes*, *for* tell, *read* foretell.
P. 241. l. 10. *after* the Words discharge their contents, *add*,
as it were by starts.

V O L. II.

P. 325. l. 13. *for* Priscus, *read* Paulus.
P. 327. l. 12. *in the Notes*, *for* second, *read* first.
P. 412. *last line*, *for* a sort of, *read*, a sett of.
P. 413. l. 10. *for* the female life, *read* female life.
P. 426. l. 2. *for* that I occasioned, *read*, that occasioned.
P. 443. l. 20. *for* or, *read* so.
P. 461. *After Letter XII.* *add*, To Minutianus.
P. 480. l. 19. *for* invectioms, *read* invectives.
P. 625. *in the Notes*, *for* 800,000l. *read* 80,000.

ad lo stonif paliuillò c'è steso eridito ti rebello di T
l'isola del credito e me gionna... (v. 1)

110 /

.H.2O

and the same amount of time
will be given to each of the
various subjects. The
amount of time given to each
subject will depend upon the
importance of the subject.



...now brought into the world by the author, and
the editor of THE book, both as

LETTERS

of the year 1711; and the author's name is

John Evelyn, Esq; and the title of the book

is, *Diary of a Naturalist*, or, *A Year*

spent in the Country.

The author has given a short account of his

life, and of his travels, in the first volume of

the *Book*; and in the second, he gives a

short account of his life, and of his travels,

in the first volume of the *Book*.

LETTER I. To SEPTIMUS.

YOU have frequently pressed me to make a se-

lect collection of my Letters (if in truth there

be any which deserve a preference) and give them

to the public. I have accordingly done so; not

indeed in their proper order of time; for I was not

compiling a history; but just as they presented

themselves to my hands. And now what remains

but to wish that neither you may have occasion to

repent of your advice, nor I of my compliance? if

so, I may probably enquire after the rest, which

at present lie neglected, and preserve those I shall

hereafter write. Farewel.

A

LET.

LETTER II. To ARIANUS.

I Foresee your journey hither is likely to be delayed, and therefore send you the speech which I promised in my former letter, begging you would, as usual, revise and correct it. I desire this the more earnestly, as I was never, I think, animated with the same warmth of zeal in any of my former compositions; for I have endeavored to imitate your old favorite Demosthenes, and Calvus who is lately become mine. When I say so, I mean only with respect to their *manner*; for to catch their sublime *spirit*, is given alone to the inspired few. My subject indeed seemed naturally to lead me to this (may I venture to call it?) emulation, as it was, in general, of such a nature as demanded all the thunder of eloquence, even to a degree sufficient to have awaken'd (if in truth it is possible to awake) that indolence in which I have long reposed. I have not however neglected the softer graces of my favorite Tully, wherever I could with propriety step out of my direct road to enjoy a more flowery path: for it was warmth, not austerity, at which I aim'd. I would not have you imagine by this, that I am bespeaking your favor: On the contrary, to induce you to exercise the utmost severity of your criticism, I will confess that neither my friends nor my self are

are averse to the publication of this piece, if you should join with us in giving the same partial vote in its favor. The truth is, as I must publish something, I wish (and 'tis the wish, I confess, of indolence) it might be this performance rather than any other, merely because it is already finished. At all events however, something I must publish, and for many reasons; chiefly, because the tracts which I have already sent into the world, though they have long since lost all their recommendation from novelty, are still, I am told, in request; if, after all, the Booksellers do not flatter me. And let 'em, since by that innocent deceit I am encouraged to pursue my studies. Farewel.

LETTER III. To CANINIUS RUFUS.

HOW stands ^a Comum, that favorite scene of yours and mine? What becomes of the pleasant Villa, the vernal Portico, the shady Plane-tree-walk, the crystal Canal so agreeably winding along its flowery banks, together with the charming ^b Lake below, that serves at once the purposes of use and beauty? What have you to tell me of

A 2

(a) The city where Pliny was born: it still subsists, and is now called *Como*, situated upon the lake *Larius*, or *Lago di Como*, in the dutchy of Milan.

(b) The lake *Larius*, upon the banks of which this villa was situated.

the firm yet soft ^c Gestatio, the sunny Bath, the public Saloon, the private Dining-room, and all the elegant apartments for repose both at ^d noon and night? Do these enjoy my friend, and divide his time with pleasing vicissitude? Or do the affairs of the world, as usual, call you frequently out from this agreeable retreat? If the scene of your enjoyments lies wholly there, you are happy: if not, you are under the common error of mankind. But leave, my friend, (for certainly it is high time) the sordid pursuits of life to others, and devote yourself, in this calm and undisturbed recess, entirely to pleasures of the studious kind. Let these employ your idle as well as serious hours; let them be at once your business and your amusement, the subjects of your waking and even sleeping thoughts: produce something that shall be really and for ever your own. All your other possessions will pass on from one master to another: *This* alone, when once it is yours, will for ever be so. As I well know the temper and genius of him to whom I am addressing myself, I must exhort you to think as well of your abilities as they deserve: Do justice to those excellent talents you possess, and the world, believe me, will certainly do so too. Farewel.

L E T-

(c) A piece of ground set apart for the purpose of exercise, either on horse-back, or in their vehicles; it was generally contiguous to their gardens, and laid out in the form of a Circus.

(d) It was customary among the Romans to sleep in the middle of the day, and they had apartments for that purpose distinct from their bedchambers.

LETTER IV. To POMPEIA CELERINA.

YOU might perceive by my last short letter, I had no occasion of yours to inform me of the various conveniences you enjoy at your several villas. The elegant accommodations which are to be found at ^a Narnia, ^b Oriculum, ^c Carsola, ^d Perusia, particularly the pretty bath at Narnia, I am extreamly well acquainted with. The truth is, I have a property in every thing which belongs to you; and I know of no other difference between your house and my own, than that I am more carefully attended in the former than the latter. You may, perhaps, have occasion to make the same observation in your turn, whenever you shall give me your company here; which I wish for, not only that you may partake of *mine* with the same ease and freedom that I do of *yours*, but to awaken the industry of my domestics, who are grown something careless in their attendancc upon me. A long course of mild treatment is apt to wear out the impressions of awe in servants; whereas new faces quicken their diligence, and they are more inclined to please their master by attention to his guest, than himself. Farewel.

A 3

LET-

(a) Now called Narni, a city in Ombria, in the Dutchy of Spoleto.
(b) Otricoli, in the same dutchy.
(c) Carsola, in the same dutchy.
(d) Perugia, in Tuscany.

LETTER V. To VOCONIUS ROMANUS.

DID you ever see a more abject and mean-spirited creature than Regulus has appeared since the death of Domitian, during whose reign his conduct was no less infamous, tho' more conceal'd than under Nero's? He has lately expressed some apprehensions of my resentment: as indeed he has reason; for I look upon him with the utmost indignation. He not only promoted the prosecution against Rusticus Arulenus, but exulted in his death; insomuch that he actually recited and publish'd a libel upon his memory, wherein he stiles him, *the Stoicks ape*: adding, that

" he was ^a *stigmated* by the wound which he

" receiv-

(a) The impropriety of this expression in the original seems to lie in the word *stigmatum*, which Regulus probably either coined thro' affection, or used thro' ignorance. It is a word at least which does not occur in any author of authority; the translator has endeavored therefore to preserve the same sort of impropriety, by using an expression of the like unwarranted stamp.

It is observable how careful the Romans were of preserving the purity of their language. It seems even to have been a point which they thought worthy the attention of the state itself; for we find the Cumæans not daring to make use of the Latin language in their public acts, without having first obtained leave in form*: And Tiberius himself would not hazard the word *monoplium*, in the senate, without making an excuse for employing a foreign term[†]. Seneca gives it as a certain maxim, that wherever a general false taste in style and expression prevails, it is an infallible sign of a corruption of manners in that people: a liberty of introducing obsolete words, or forming new ones, is a mark, he thinks, of an equal licentiousness of the moral kind[‡]. Accordingly it is observed, ¶ there is

scarce

* *Liv.* l. 40. c. 42. || *Suet.* in *Tib.* c. 71. † *Ep.* 114. ‡ *Sanad.*
sur Hor.

" received in the cause of Vitellius :" such is the strain of his noble eloquence ! He fell so furiously upon the character of Herennius Senecio, who was capitally convicted upon the information of Metius Carus, that the latter said to him one day, *Pray what business have you with my dead men ? Did I ever interfere in the affair of Crassus, or Camerinus ?* These, you know, were victims to Regulus in Nero's time. For these reasons he imagines I am highly exasperated, and therefore when he recited his last piece, did not give me an invitation. Besides, he has not forgot, it seems, the dangerous snare he once laid for me, when he and I were pleading before the ^b Centumviri. Rusticus had desired me to be counsel for Arionilla, Timon's wife : Regulus was engaged against her. In the course of my defence I strongly insisted upon a decree which had been formerly made by the worthy Modestus, at

A 4
scarce more than eight or ten instances of new words can be produced from the most approved Roman writers, in the course of two or three centuries. It is possible however, a delicacy of this sort may be carried too far ; and in fact we find some of their best writers complaining of the poverty of their language † ; notwithstanding Tully asserts it was more copious than the Greek ‡.

(b) A select body of men who formed a court of judicature, called the Centumviral court. Their jurisdiction extended chiefly, if not entirely, to questions concerning wills and intestates estates; for tho' Tully in his first B: de Oratore, enumerates other points which came in question before them, yet Pitiscus* is of opinion (and with great probability) that in later times their business was singly confin'd to the cases first mentioned. Their number, as appears by our author, amounted to 180.

† *Lucr.* 1. 332. *Quintil.* 8. 3. *Plin. Ep.* 13. l. 4.

‡ *De Fin.* 1. 1. in init. * *Lex. in verb.*

that time banished by Domitian. Now you shall see Regulus in his true colors: "Pray, says he, what are your sentiments of Modestus?" You will easily judge how extremely hazardous it would have been to have answered in his favor, and how infamous if I had done otherwise. But some guardian power, I am persuaded, assisted me in this emergency. "I would tell you my sentiments, said I, if that were a matter for the consideration of the Centumviri." Still he repeated his Question. I replied, "It was not customary to examine witnesses to the character of a man after sentence had passed upon him." He pressed me a third time: "I don't enquire, said he, what you think of Modestus in general, I only ask your opinion of his Loyalty. Since you will have my sentiments then, I returned, I think it illegal even to ask a question concerning a person who stands convicted. This silenced him; and I was universally applauded and congratulated, that without wounding my character by an advantageous, perhaps, tho' ungenerous answer, I had not entangled myself in so insidious a snare. Regulus, conscious of this unworthy treatment, has solicited Cœcilius Celer, and Fabius Justus, to use their interest to bring about a reconciliation between us. And lest this should not be sufficient, he has applied also to Spurinna for

for the same purpose ; to whom he came in the humblest manner (for he is the most abject creature living, where he has any thing to fear) and intreated him to call upon me very early the next morning, and endeavor by any means to soften my resentment ; " for, says he, I can no longer " support my self under this anxiety of mind." Accordingly I was awakened the following day with a message from Spurinna, informing me that he would wait upon me. I sent word back, I would call upon him ; however, both of us setting out to pay this visit, we met under Livia's Portico. He acquainted me with the commission he had received from Regulus, and interceded for him, as became so worthy a man in behalf of one of a very different character, without greatly pressing the thing. I ought not, I told him, to conceal the true state of the case from him, and after I had informed him of that, I would leave it to himself to consider what answer was proper for me to return. " I cannot positively, said I, determine any " thing till Mauricus ^c (who was then in exile) shall " return, by whose sentiments I think myself obli- " ged to be entirely guided in this affair." A few days afterwards Regulus met me as I was attending upon the Prætor, and calling me aside, said, he
was

(c) Brother to Rusticus Arulenus, who had been put to death upon the information of this Regulus.

was afraid I deeply resented an expression he had once made use of in his reply to me and Satrius Rufus, before the Centumviri, to this purpose ; *Rufus and that other, who affects to rival Tully, and to despise the eloquence of our age.* I answered, that now indeed I perceived he spoke it with a sneer, since he own'd he meant it so ; otherwise it might have passed for a compliment. I was free to own, I said, that I endeavored to imitate Cicero, and was by no means contented with taking my example from modern Eloquence ; for I looked upon it as a very absurd thing not to copy the best models of every kind. But, “ how happens it, continued I, “ that you who remember so well “ what pass'd upon this occasion, should have forgotten that other, when you pushed me so strongly “ concerning the loyalty of Modestus ?” Confounded with this unexpected question, pale as he always is, he turned still more remarkably so. After a good deal of hesitation, he said, it was not me he aimed at ; it was only Modestus. Observe now, I beseech you, the implacable spirit of this fellow, who was not ashamed thus to confess himself capable of insulting the unfortunate. But the reason he gave in justification of this infamous proceeding, is pleasant. “ He had wrote, said he, in a letter which was read to Domitian, that I was the most execrable of all scoundrels ;” and what Modestus said,

said, was the truth beyond all manner of controversy. Here, I think, I broke off the conversation, being desirous to reserve to myself the liberty of acting as I should see proper when Mauricus returns. It is no easy matter, I well know, to destroy Regulus; he is rich, and at the head of a party; there are many with whom he has ^a credit, and more that

(d) There seems to have been a cast of uncommon blackness in the character of this Regulus; otherwise the benevolent Pliny would scarce have singled him out, as he has in this and some following Letters, for the object of his warmest contempt and indignation. Yet infamous as he appears to have been, he was not, it seems, without his flatterers and admirers; and a cotemporary poet frequently represents him as one of the most finished characters of the age, both in eloquence and virtue; particularly in the following Epigram occasioned by his escape from an imminent danger.

*Itur ad Herculei gelidas qua Tiburis arcēs,
Canaque sulphureis Albula fumat aquis;
Rura nemusque sacrum, dilectaque jugera Musis.
Signat vicina quartus ab urbe lapis:
Hic nudis effivas p̄ſtabat Porticus umbras,
Heu quam p̄ene novum Porticus ausa nefas!
Nam subito collapsa ruit, cum mole sub illa
Gestatus bijugis Regulus effet equis.*

*Nimirum timuit nostras fortuna querelas,
Quæ par tam magnæ non erat invidiae.
Nunc & damna furvant; sunt ipsa pericula tanti:
Stantia non poterant tecta probare Deos.*

MART. L. i. Ep. 13.

Where leads the way to Tibur's cooling tow'rs
And snow-white Albula sulphureous pours,
A villa stands, from Rome a little space;
And ev'ry muse delights to haunt the place.
Here once a Portic lent her grateful shade,
Alas! how near to impious guilt betray'd!

Sudden

are afraid of him : a passion that will sometimes prevail even beyond Friendship itself. But after all, ties of this sort are not so strong, but they may be loosened ; and the popularity of a bad man is no more to be depended upon than he is himself. However (to repeat it again) I shall do nothing in this affair till Mauricus returns. He is a man of sound judgment and great sagacity, formed upon a long course of experience, and who from his observations of the past, well knows how to judge of the future. I shall consult with him, and think myself justified either in pursuing or dropping this affair, as he shall advise. In the mean while, I thought I owed this account to

the

Sudden it fell ; what time the steeds convey
 Safe from her nodding walls great Regulus away.
 To crush that head not even Fortune dar'd,
 And the world's general creation fear'd.
 Blest be the ruin, be the danger blest !
 The standing pile had ne'er the Gods confess.

But poets, especially needy ones, such as we know Martial was, are not generally the most faithful painters in this way ; and of the two copies of Regulus now before us, there can be no doubt which most resembled the original. If antiquity had delivered down to us more of these drawings of the same person by different hands, the truth of characters might be easier ascertained, and many of those which we now view with high rapture, would greatly sink, *perhaps*, in our estimation ; as we must have conceived a very favorable idea of Regulus, if we had never seen his picture but from Martial's pencil. Even Horace himself we find giving a very different *air* to his * Lollius from that in which he is represented by † Paterulus.

* Lib. 4. Od. 9. † Lib. 2. 102.

the friendship that subsists between us, which gives you an undoubted right to be informed not only of all my actions, but all my designs. Farewel.

But so far may we have no secret from you.

LETTER VI. To CORNELIUS TACITUS.

Certainly you will laugh (and laugh you may) when I tell you that your old acquaintance is turned sportsman, and has taken three noble boars. What ! (methinks I hear you say with astonishment) Pliny !—*Even he.* However I indulged at the same time my beloved inactivity, and while I sat at my nets, you would have found me, not with my pike, but my pen by my side. I mused and wrote, being resolved if I returned with my hands empty, at least to come home with my papers full. Believe me, this manner of studying is not to be despised : You cannot conceive how greatly exercise contributes to enliven the imagination. There is, besides, something in the solemnity of the venerable woods with which one is surrounded, together with that awful ^a silence which is observed on these

(a) By the circumstance of *silence* here mentioned, as well as by the whole air of this letter, it is plain the hunting here recommended was of a very different kind from what is practis'd amongst us. It is probable the wild boars were allured into their nets by some kind of prey, with which they were baited, while the sportsman watched at a distance in silence and concealment. Something at least of this manner is here plainly implied, and is necessary to be hinted to the English

these occasions, that strongly inclines the mind to meditation. For the future therefore let me advise you, whenever you hunt, to take along with you your pen and paper, as well as your basket and bottle; for be assured you will find Minerva as fond of traversing the hills as Diana. Farewel.

L E T T E R VII. To OCTAVIUS RUFUS.

SEE to what an exalted station you have advanced me! You have even invested me with a sovereignty equal to that which Homer attributes to his mighty Jove:

*From heaven's imperial throne Jove heard his
pray'r,
Part he admits, and scatters part in air.^a*

Tis

English reader, in order to his conceiving the propriety of Pliny's sentiment, which otherwise must seem absurd. This perhaps was their usual method of hunting in summer; as driving these animals into toils by the assistance of hounds, is mentioned by Horace as a winter exercise:

— *Cum tonantis annus hibernus Jovis
Imbris niveisque comparat,*
— *Trudit acres hinc & hinc multa cane* (a) *EPOD. 2.*
 Apros in obstantes plagas.

— When the rain and snows appear,
And wint'ry Jove loud thunders o'er the year,
With hounds he drives into the toils
The foaming boar.—

Mr. FRANCIS.

(a) Iliad. xvi. ver. 250.

'Tis thus with a nod or a frown, I may grant or reject your petition as I see proper. To be serious: as I am at liberty, I think, to excuse myself to the ^a Bætici, especially at your request, from being counsel for them against a single person; so on the other hand to oppose a whole province which I have long since attached to me by many good offices, and spared no pains to oblige even at the hazard of my own interest, would be acting inconsistently with my honor, and that uniformity of conduct which I know you admire. I shall steer therefore in this affair a middle course, and of the alternative which you propose to me, choose that which will satisfy your judgment, as well as your inclination. For I do not look upon myself obliged to consider so much what you at present desire, as what a man of your worthy character will *always* approve. I hope to be at Rome about the 15th of October, when we will join our united credit with Gallus in convincing him of the reasonableness of my offer. In the mean while you may assure him of my good disposition towards him:

— *the fire of men and gods,*
With gracious aspect, mild compliance nods.^c For

(b) The people of Pætica, a part of Spain comprehending Andalusia and Granada.

(c) Il. i. v. 528.

For why should I not continue to quote Homer's verses, since you will not put it in my power to quote any of yours? which yet I so passionately wish for, that I question whether I could withstand such a bribe, even to plead against my old clients the good people of Bænica.—I had almost forgot to mention (what however is of too much importance to be omitted) that I have received the excellent dates you sent me. They are likely to prove very powerful rivals to my favorite figs and morells. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. To POMPEIUS SATURNINUS.

NOthing could be more seasonable than the letter which I received from you, wherein you desire me to communicate to you some of my compositions: I was at that very time designing to send you one. Your request therefore has forwarded my intentions, and freed me from every thing that I had to apprehend either from your refusal of this trouble, or my scruples to give it you. Without hesitation then I make use of your offer, as you must now take the consequence of it without reluctance. But you must not expect from a man of my indolence any thing new. On the contrary, I am going to intreat you to revise again the speech I made to my country-men, when I dedicated

cated the public library which I founded for their use. You have already, I remember, obliged me with some general observations upon this piece: but I now beg of you, not only to take a view of it in the whole, but distinctly to criticise it, with your usual exactness, in all its parts. When you have corrected it, I shall still be at liberty either to publish or suppress it. The delay in the mean time will be attended with one of these advantages, that while we are deliberating whether it is fit for the public view, a frequent revisal will either make it so, or convince me that it is not. Tho' indeed the principal difficulty with me concerning the publication of this harangue, does not arise so much from the composition it self, as from the subject, which has something in it, I fear, that will look like ostentation. For tho' the stile be ever so plain and unornamented, yet as the occasion necessarily led me to touch not only upon the munificence of my ancestors, but my own; my modesty will be greatly embarrassed. A dangerous and slippery situation this, even when one is led into it by the plea of necessity! For if mankind are not very favorable to panegyric, even when given us by others, how much more difficult is it to reconcile them to it when it is a tribute which we pay to our selves? Virtue tho' stripp'd of all

external advantages, is generally the object of envy, but particularly so, when glory is her attendant ; and the world is never so little disposed to wrest and pervert your honest actions, as when they pass unobserv'd and unapplauded. For these reasons I frequently ask my self, whether I should have composed this harangue, such as it is, meerly for my own private use, or with a view also to the public ? I am sensible, what may be exceedingly useful and proper in the prosecution of any affair, may lose all its grace and fitness the moment the thing is compleated : for instance, in the case before us, nothing could be more to my purpose than to explain at large the motions of my intended bounty ; for by this means I accustom'd my mind to generous sentiments ; grew more enamour'd of the lovely forms by frequent attention to them, and guarded at the same time against that repentance which usually attends a hasty execution of liberalities not well considered. There arose also a farther advantage from this method, as it fix'd in me a certain habitual contempt of money. For while mankind seem to be universally governed by an innate disposition to accumulate wealth, the cultivation of a more generous affection in my own breast taught me to free my self from the slavery of so predominant a principle, and

I thought my honest intentions would be the more meritorious, as they should appear to be, not the effect of a sudden start of temper, but the dictates of cool and deliberate reflection. I considered, besides, the nature of my design; I was not engaging my self to establish public games, but a fund for the support of ingenuous youths. The pleasures of the senses are so far from wanting the oratorical arts to recommend them, that we stand in need of all the powers of eloquence, to moderate and restrain their influence. But to prevail with those who are capable of the office, to undertake with cheerfulness the disagreeable business of education, it is necessary to apply, in the most artful manner, not only to their interest, but their passions. And if Physicians find it necessary to use the most insinuating address in recommending to their patients a wholesome, tho' perhaps, unpleasant regimen; how much more occasion had *He* to exert all the powers of persuasion, who out of regard to the public welfare, was endeavoring to reconcile it to a most useful, tho' not very popular benefaction: particularly, as my aim was to recommend an establishment calculated singly for the benefit of those who were parents, to such as were not so; and to persuade the *majority* that they would patiently wait for and endeavor to deserve,

an honor, of which, at present, a few only could partake. But as at that time, when I attempted to explain and enforce the design and benefit of my institution, I considered more the general good of my country-men, than any reputation which might arise to my self ; so I am apprehensive if I publish that piece, it will seem as if I had a view rather to my own character, than the benefit of others. I am very sensible how much nobler it is to place the reward of virtue in the silent approbation of one's own breast, than in the applause of the world. Glory ought to be the consequence, not the motive of our actions ; and tho' fame should sometimes happen not to attend the worthy deed, yet is it by no means the less amiable for having miss'd the applause it deserved. But the world is apt to suspect that those who celebrate their own generous acts, do not extol them because they performed them, but performed them that they might have the pleasure of extolling them. Thus the splendor of an action which would have shone out in full lustre if related by another, vanishes and dies away when it becomes the subject of your own applause. Such is the disposition of mankind, if they cannot blast the action, they will censure the vanity ; and whether you do what does not deserve to be taken notice of, or take notice yourself of what does, either

way

way you incur reproach. In my own case there is a peculiar circumstance that weighs with me: This speech was pronounced not before the people, but the ^a Decurii; not in the Forum, but the Senate; I doubt therefore it will appear inconsistent that I, who when I deliver'd it, seem'd to endeavor to avoid popular applause, should now, by publishing this performance, appear to court the approbation of the world: that I, who was so scrupulous as not to admit even those persons to be present when I pronounced this discourse, who were interested in my benefaction, lest it might be suspected I was actuated in this affair by any ambitious views, should now seem to solicit admiration, by forwardly displaying it to such as have no other concern in my munificence than the benefit of example. These are the scruples which have occasioned my delaying to give this piece to the public; but I submit them entirely to your judgment, which I shall ever esteem as a sufficient reason for my conduct.

Farewel.

(a) The Decurii were a sort of Senators in the municipal or corporate cities of Italy.

LETTER IX. To MINUTIUS FUNDANUS.

WHEN one considers how the time passes at Rome, one cannot but be surprized, that take any single day, and it either is, or at least seems to be spent reasonably enough ; and yet upon casting up the whole sum the amount will appear quite otherwise. Ask any one how he has been employed to-day ? he will tell you, perhaps, "I "have been at the ceremony of taking up the *manly robe* ; this friend invited me to a wedding ; that "desired me to attend the hearing of his cause ; one "begg'd me to be witness to his will ; another call- "ed me to a consultation." These are offices which seem, while one is engaged in them, extremely necessary ; and yet, when in the quiet of some retirement, we look back upon the many hours thus employ'd, we cannot but condemn them as solemn impertinences. At such a season one is apt to reflect, *How much of my life has been lost in trifles !* At least it is a reflection which frequently comes across me at Laurentum, after I have been employing myself in my studies, or even in the necessary care of the animal machine ; for the body must be repaired

(a) The Roman youths at the age of seventeen changed their habit, and took up the *Toga virilis*, or Manly gown, upon which occasion they were conducted by the friends of the family with great ceremony either into the Forum or Capitol, and there invested with this new robe.

repaired and supported, if we would preserve the mind in all its vigor. In that peaceful retreat, I neither hear nor speak any thing of which I have occasion to repent. I suffer none to repeat to me the whispers of malice ; nor do I censure any man, unless myself, when I am dissatisfied with my compositions. There I live undisturbed by rumor, and free from the anxious solicitudes of hope or fear, conversing only with myself and my books. True and genuine life ! pleasing and honorable repose ! More perhaps to be desired than the noblest employments ! Thou solemn sea and solitary shore, best and most retired scene for contemplation, with how many noble thoughts have you inspired me ! Snatch then, my friend, as I have, the first occasion of leaving the noisy town with all its very empty pursuits, and devote your days to study, or even resign them to ease ; for as my ingenious friend Attilius pleasantly said, “ It is better to do nothing, “ than to be *doing of nothings*. ” Farewel.

LETTER X. To ATRIUS CLEMENS.

IF ever polite literature flourished at Rome, it certainly does now, of which I could give you many eminent instances. I will content my self however with naming only Euphrates the philosopher. I first made acquaintance with this excellent

person in my youth, when I served in the army in Syria. I had an opportunity of conversing with him familiarly, and took some pains to gain his affection : tho' that indeed was nothing difficult, for he is exceedingly open to access, and full of that humanity which he professes. I should think myself extremely happy if I had as much answer'd the expectations he at that time conceived of me, as he exceeds every thing that I had imagined of him. But perhaps I admire his excellencies more now, than I did then, because I understand them better ; if I can with truth say I understand them yet. For as none but those who are skill'd in Painting, Statuary, or the plastic art, can form a right judgment of any performance in those sciences ; so a man must himself have made great advances in learning, before he is capable of forming a just notion of the learned. However, as far as I am qualified to determine, Euphrates is possessed of so many shining talents, that he cannot fail to strike the most injudicious observer. He reasons with much force, penetration and elegance, and frequently launches out into all the sublime and luxuriant eloquence of Plato. His stile is rich and flowing, and so wonderfully sweet, that with a pleasing violence he forces the attention of the most unwilling hearer. His outward appearance is agreeable to all the rest : he has a good shape, a comely aspect, long hair,

and

and a large white beard : circumstances which, tho' they may probably be thought trifling and accidental, contribute however to gain him much reverence. There is no affected negligence in his habit ; his countenance is grave, but not austere ; and his approach commands respect without creating awe. Distinguished as he is by the sanctity of his manners, he is no less so by his polite and affable address. He points his eloquence against the vices, not the persons of mankind, and without chastising reclaims the wanderer. His exhortations so captivate your attention, that you hang as it were upon his lips ; and even after the heart is convinc'd, the ear still wishes to listen to the harmonious reasoner. His family consists of three children (two of which are sons) whom he educates with the utmost care. His father-in-law Pompeius Julianus, as he greatly distinguished himself in every other part of his life, so particularly in this, that tho' he was himself of the highest rank in his province, yet among many considerable competitors for his daughter, he prefer'd Euphrates, as first in merit, tho' not in dignity. But to dwell any longer upon the virtues of a man, whose conversation I am so unfortunate as not to have leisure to enjoy, what would it avail but to encrease my uneasiness that I cannot enjoy it ? My time is wholly taken up in the execution of a very honorable indeed, but very troublesome employ-

employment ; in hearing of causes, answering petitions, passing accounts, and writing of letters ; but letters, alas ! where genius has no share. I sometimes complain to Euphrates (for I have leisure at least for that) of these unpleasing occupations. He endeavors to comfort me, by affirming, that to be engaged in the service of the public, to hear and determine causes, to explain the laws, and administer justice, is a part, and the noblest part too, of Philosophy, as it is reducing to practice what her professors teach in speculation. It may be so : but that it is as *agreeable* as to spend whole days in attending to his useful conversation—even his rhetoric will never be able to convince me. I cannot therefore but strongly recommend it to you, who have leisure, the next time you come to Rome (and you will come I dare say so much the sooner) to take the benefit of his elegant and refined instructions. I am not, you see, in the number of those who envy others the happiness they cannot share themselves : on the contrary, it is a very sensible pleasure to me, when I find my friends in possession of an enjoyment from which I have the misfortune to be excluded. Farewel.

May 11. 1776. And when you will be in town
again, come and call upon me. I shall be glad
to have you in quickeas. Afterw^r I hope to have
nothing more to do. I am affec^tately yours
Colgate

LETTER

LETTER XI. To FABIUS JUSTUS.

IT is long since I received a letter from you. You will tell me, perhaps, you have nothing to write: but let me have the satisfaction at least of seeing it under your hand, or tell me in the good old style, *if you are well, I am so.* I shall be contented with that; for from a friend That is every thing. You may possibly think I jest; but believe me I am extremely in earnest. In short, all I desire is, to know how it is with you, for I can no longer remain in this ignorance without the utmost anxiety. Farewel.

LETTER XII. To CALESTRIUS TIRO.

I HAVE suffered a most sensible loss; if that word is strong enough to express the misfortune which has deprived me of so excellent a man. Corellius Rufus is dead! and dead too by his own act! a circumstance of great aggravation to my affliction, as that sort of death which we cannot impute either to the course of nature, or the hand of providence, is of all others the most to be lamented. It affords some consolation in the loss of those friends whom disease snatches from

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us, that they fall by the general fate of mankind : but those who destroy themselves, leave us under the inconsolable reflection that they had it in their power to have lived longer. 'Tis true, Corellius had many inducements to be fond of life ; a blameless conscience, high reputation, and great dignity, together with all the tender endearments of a wife, a daughter, a grandson, and sisters, and amidst these considerable pledges of happiness, many and faithful friends. Still it must be own'd he had the highest reason, which to a wise man will always have the force of the strongest obligation, to determine him in this resolution. He had long labor'd under so tedious and painful a distemper, that even these blessings, great and valuable as they are, could not ballance the evils he suffered. In his 33d year, (as I have frequently heard him say) he was seized with the gout in his feet. This he received from his father ; for diseases, as well as possessions, are sometimes transmitted by a kind of inheritance. A life of abstinence and virtue had something broke the force of this distemper while he had strength and youth to struggle with it ; as a manly courage supported him under the increasing weight of it in his old age. I remember in the reign of Domitian, I made him a visit at his villa near Rome, where I found him

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under the most incredible and undeserved tortures; for the gout was now not only in his feet, but had spread itself over his whole body. As soon as I enter'd his chamber, his servants withdrew: for it was his constant rule, never to suffer them to be present when any very intimate friend was with him: he even carried it so far as to dismiss his wife upon such occasions, tho' worthy of the highest confidence. Looking round about him, *Do you know,* (says he) *why I endure life under these cruel agonies? It is with the hope that I may outlive, at least for one day, that villain^a.* And O! ye Gods, *had you given me strength, as you have given me resolution, I would infallibly have that pleasure!* Heaven heard his prayer, and having survived that tyrant, and lived to see liberty restored, he broke thro' those great, but however now less forcible attachments to the world, since he could leave it in possession of security and freedom. His distemper increased; and as it now grew too violent to admit of any relief from temperance, he resolutely determined to put an end to its uninterrupted attacks by an effort of heroism. He had refused all sustenance for four days, when his wife Hispulla sent to me our common friend Geminus, with the melancholy news that he was resolved to die; and that she
and

(a) Domitian.

and her daughter having in vain joined in their most tender persuasions to divert him from his purpose, the only hope they had now left was in my endeavors to reconcile him to life. I ran to his house with the utmost precipitation. As I approached it, I met a second messenger from Hispulla, who informed me there was nothing to be hoped for, even from me, as he now seem'd more inflexible than ever in his resolution. What confirmed their fears was an expression he made use of to his physician, who press'd him to take some nourishment: '*tis resolved*, said he: an expression which as it raised my admiration of his greatness of soul; so it does my grief for the loss of him. I am every moment reflecting what a valuable friend, what an excellent man I am deprived of. That he was arrived to his 67th year, which is an age even the strongest seldom exceed, I well know; that he is delivered from a life of continual pain; that he left his family and (what he loved even more) his country in a flourishing state; all this I know. Still I cannot forbear to weep for him as if he had been in the prime and vigor of his days: and I weep (shall I own my weakness?) upon a private account. Oh! my friend, I have lost the witness, the guide, and the director of my life! And to confess to you what I did to Calvisius in the first

transf.

transport of my grief, I sadly fear, now that I am no longer under his eye, I shall not keep so strict a guard over my conduct. Speak comfort to me therefore, I entreat you; not by telling me that *he was old, that he was infirm*; all this I know; but by supplying me with some arguments that are uncommon, and resistless, that neither the commerce of the world, nor the precepts of the philosophers can teach me. For all that I have heard, and all that I have read occur to me of themselves; but all these are by far too weak to support me under so heavy an affliction. Farewel.

LETTER XIII. To Socius SENEPIO.

THIS year has prov'd extreamly fertile in poetical productions: during the whole month of April, scarce a day has passed wherein we have not been entertained with the recital of some poem. It is a pleasure to me to find, notwithstanding there seems to be so little disposition in the public to attend assemblies of this kind, that the sciences still flourish, and men of genius are not discouraged from producing their performances. It is visible, the greater part of the audience, which is collected upon these occasions, come with reluctance; they loiter round the place of assembly, join in little parties of conversation, and send every now and

and then to enquire whether the author is come in, whether he has read the preface, or whether he has almost finished the piece. Then with an air of the greatest indifference, they just look in and withdraw again ; some by stealth, and others with less ceremony. It was not thus in the time of our ancestors. It is reported that Claudio Cæsar one day hearing a noise near his palace, enquired the occasion of it, and being informed that Nonianus was reciting a composition of his, went immediately to the place, and agreeably surprised the author with his presence. But now, were one to bespeak the company even of the most idle man living, and remind him of the appointment ever so often, or ever so long before hand, either he would avoid it under pretence of forgetfulness, or if not, would look upon it as so much time lost ; and for no other reason perhaps, but because he had *not* lost it. So much the rather do *those* authors deserve our encouragement and applause, who have resolution to persevere in their studies, and exhibit their performances, notwithstanding this indolence, or pride of their audience. For my own part, I scarce ever refuse to be present upon these occasions. Tho' to say truth, the authors have generally been my friends ; as indeed there are few men of genius who are not. It is this has kept me in town longer than I intended. I am now however at

liberty

liberty to withdraw to my retirement, and write something my self ; but without any intentions of reciting in my turn. I would not have it thought that I rather *lent* than gave my attendance ; for in these, as in all other good offices, the obligation ceases the moment you seem to expect a return. Farewel.

LETTER XIV. To JUNIUS MAURICUS.

YOU desire me to look out a husband for your neice ; and it is with justice you enjoin me that office. You were a witness to the esteem and affection I bore that great man her father, and with what noble instructions he formed my youth, and taught me to deserve those praises he was pleased to bestow upon me. You could not give me then a more important, or more agreeable commission, nor could I be employed in an office of higher honor, than of choosing a young man worthy of continuing the family of Rusticus Arulenus : a choice I should be long in determining if I were not acquainted with Minutius *Æ*milianus, who seems formed for our purpose. While he loves me with that warmth of affection which is usual between young men of equal years (as indeed I have the advance of him

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but by very few) he reveres me at the same time with all the deference due to age ; and is as desirous to model himself by my instructions, as I was by those of your self and your brother. He is a native of Brixia ^a, one of those provinces in Italy, which still retains much of the frugal simplicity and purity of ancient manners. He is son to Minutius Macrinus, whose humble desires were satisfied with being first in the rank of the Equestrian order : for tho' he was nominated by Vespasian in the number of those whom that prince dignified with the Prætorian honors ; yet with a determined greatness of mind, he rather prefer'd an elegant repose, to the ambitious shall I call them, or honorable pursuits in which we in public life are engaged. His grand-mother on the mother's side is Serrana Procula, of Padua : you are no stranger to the manners of that place ; yet Serrana is looked upon, even among these reserved people, as an exemplary instance of strict virtue. Acilius, his uncle, is a man of singular gravity, wisdom and integrity. In a word, you will find nothing throughout his family unworthy of yours. Minutius himself has great vivacity, as well as application, joined at the same time with a most amiable and becoming modesty. He has already, with much credit, passed thro' the offices of Quæstor,

(a) A town in the territories of Venice, now called Brescia.

tor, Tribune, and Prætor, so that you will be spared the trouble of soliciting for him those honorable employments. He has a genteel and ruddy countenance, with a certain noble mein that speaks the man of distinction : advantages, I think, by no means to be slighted, and which I look upon as the proper tributes to virgin innocence. I am doubtful whether I should add, that his father is very rich. When I consider the character of those who require a husband of my choosing, I know it is unnecessary to mention wealth ; but when I reflect upon the prevailing manners of the age, and even the laws of Rome, which rank a man according to his possessions, it certainly claims some notice : and indeed in establishments of this nature, where children and many other circumstances are to be considered, it is an article that well deserves to be taken into the account. You will be inclined perhaps to suspect, that affection has had too great a share in the character I have been drawing, and that I have heighten'd it beyond the truth. But I will stake all my credit with you, you will find every thing far beyond what I have represented. I confess, indeed, I love Minutius (as he justly deserves,) with all the warmth of the most ardent affection ; but for that very reason I would not ascribe more to his merit, than I know it will support. Farewel.

LETTER XV. To SEPTITIUS CLARUS.

HOW happen'd it, my friend, that you did not keep your engagement the other night to sup with me? But take notice, justice is to be had, and I expect you shall fully reimburse me the expence I was at to treat you; which, let me tell you, was no small sum. I had prepared, you must know, a lettuce apiece, three ^a snails, two eggs, and a barley cake, with some sweet wine and ^b snow: the snow most certainly I shall charge to your account, as a rarity that will not keep. Besides all these curious dishes, there were olives of Andalusia, gourds, shalots, and

(a) The English reader may probably be surprized to find this article in Pliny's philosophical bill of fare; it will not be improper therefore to inform him, that a dish of snails was very common at a Roman table. The manner used to fatten them is related by some very grave authors of antiquity; and Pliny the elder mentions one Fulvius Hirpinus who had studied that art with so much success, that the shells of some of his snails would contain about ten quarts. [H. N. I. 9. 56.] In some parts of Switzerland this food is still in high repute. [See Addison's Trav. 364.]

(b) The Romans used snow not only to cool their liquors, but their stomachs, after having inflamed themselves with high eating: *Nivem rodunt*, says Seneca, *solatium stomachi æstuantis*. [Ep. 95.] This custom still prevails in Italy, especially at Naples, where (as Mr. Addison observes) “they “drink very few liquors, not so much as water, that have “not lain in *fresco*, and every body from the highest to the “lowest makes use of it; insomuch that a scarcity of snow “would raise a mutiny at Naples, as much as a dearth of “corn or provisions in another country.” Trav. 185.

and a hundred other dainties equally sumptuous. You should likewise have been entertained either with an interlude, the rehearsal of a poem, or a piece of music, as you liked best ; or (such was my liberality) with all three. But the luxurious delicacies ^c and Spanish dancers of a certain — I know not who, were, it seems, more to your taste. However I shall have my revenge of you, depend upon it ;—in what manner, shall at present be a secret. In good truth it was not kind, thus to mortify your friend, I had almost said your self ;— and upon second thoughts I do say so : for how agreeably should we have spent the evening, in laughing, trifling, and deep speculation ! You may sup, I confess, at many places more splendidly ; but you can be treated no where, believe me, with

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(c) In the original the dishes are specified, viz. Oysters, the matrices of sows, and a certain sea shell-fish, prickly like a hedgehog, called *Echinus*, all in the highest estimation among the Roman admirers of table-luxury ; as appears by numberless passages in the classic writers. Our own country had the honor to furnish them with oysters, which they fetched from *Sandwich* : Montanus, mentioned by Juvenal, was so well skilled in the science of good eating, that he could tell by the first taste whether they came from thence or not :

*Circaeis nata forent, an
Lucrinum ad saxum, Rupinove edita fundo
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu.*

Sat. 4. 140.

He whether Circe's rock his oysters bore,
Or Lucrine lake, or the Rutupian shore,
Knew at first taste.

Mr. DUKE.

more unconstrained cheerfulness, simplicity and freedom: only make the experiment; and if you do not ever afterwards prefer my table to any other, never favor me with your company again. Farewell.

LETTER XVI. To ERUCIUS.

I Conceived an affection for my friend Pompeius Saturninus, and admired his genius, even long before I knew the extensive variety of his talents; but he has now taken full and unreserved possession of my whole heart. I have heard him in the unpremeditated, as well as studied speech, plead with no less warmth and energy, than grace and eloquence. He abounds with just reflections; his periods are graceful and majestic; his words harmonious, and stamped with the authority of genuine antiquity. These united qualities infinitely delight you, not only when you are carried along, if I may so say, with the resistless flow of his charming and emphatical elocution; but when considered distinct and apart from that advantage. I am persuaded you will be of this opinion when you peruse his orations, and will not hesitate to place him in the same rank with the antients, whom he so happily imitates. But you will view him with still higher pleasure in the character of an historian, where

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his stile is at once concise and clear, smooth and sublime; and the same energy of expression, tho' with more closeness, runs thro' his harangues, which so eminently distinguishes and adorns his pleadings. But these are not all his excellencies; he has composed several poetical pieces in the manner of my favorite Calvus and Catullus. What strokes of wit, what sweetness of numbers, what pointed satire, and what touches of the tender passion appear in his verses! in the midst of which he sometimes designedly falls into an agreeable negligence in his metre, in imitation too of those admired poets. He read to me, the other day, some letters which he assured me were wrote by his wife: I fancied I was hearing Plautus or Terence in prose. If they are that lady's, (as he positively affirms) or his own, which he absolutely denies, either way he deserves equal applause; whether for writing so politely himself, or for having so highly improved and refined the genius of his wife, whom he married young and uninstructed. His works are never out of my hands; and whether I sit down to write any thing my self, or to revise what I have already wrote, or am in a disposition to amuse my self, I constantly take up this agreeable author; and as often as I do so, he is still new. Let me strongly recommend him to the same degree of intimacy with you; nor be it

any prejudice to his merit that he is a cotemporary writer. Had he florished in some distant age, not only his works, but the very pictures and statues of him would have been passionately enquired after ; and shall we then, from a sort of satiety, and merely because he is present amongst us, suffer his talents to languish and fade away unhonored and unadmired ? It is surely a very perverse and envious disposition, to look with indifference upon a man worthy of the highest approbation, for no other reason but because we have it in our power to see him, and to converse with him, and not only to give him our applause, but to receive him into our friendship. Farewel.

LETTER XVII. To CORNELIUS TITIANUS,

THE social virtues have not yet quite forsaken the world ; and there are still those whose generous affection extends itself even to their departed friends. Titianus Capito has obtain'd the emperor's permission to erect a statue in the Forum to the late L. Syllanus. It is a noble and truly laudable exertion of princely favor to employ it to purposes such as these, and to try the extent of one's interest for the glory of others. It is indeed habitual to Capito to distinguish merit. He has

has placed in his house (where he is at^a liberty to do so) the statues of the Bruti, the Cassii, and the Cato's, and it is incredible what a religious veneration he pays them. But his generosity does not terminate here : there is scarce a name of any note or lustre that he has not celebrated and rendered more conspicuous, by his excellent verses. One may be very sure a man must be possessed of great virtue himself, who thus admires it in others. As Sylanus certainly deserves the honor that is done him, so Capito has by this means secured to himself that immortality which he has conferr'd on his friend ; for in my opinion he who erects a statue in the Roman Forum, receives as much glory, as he to whom it is erected. Farewel.

*LETTER XVIII. To SUETONIUS TRAN-
QUILLUS.*

YOUR letter informs me that you are extremely terrified with a dream, as apprehending that it threatens some ill success to you in the

(a) Suetonius informs us, that Caligula destroy'd the statues of those illustrious persons which Augustus had erected in the Capitol ; and published an edict, whereby he prohibited statues to be raised to any person in his life-time, unless by the emperor's express permission. It is probable Pliny here alludes to a decree of this nature made by some succeeding emperor, perhaps Domitian, against publicly erecting statues to these glorious assertors of liberty.

the cause you have undertaken to defend ; and therefore desire that I would get it adjourned for a few days, or at least to the next. This is a favor, you are sensible, not very easily obtain'd, but I will use all my interest for that purpose ;

— — — *For dreams descend from Jove^a.* HOM.

In the mean while it is very ^b material for you to recollect whether your dreams generally represent things as they afterwards fall out, or quite the reverse. But if I may judge of yours by one that happen'd to my self, you have nothing to fear ; for it

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(a) Pope, Il. 1. 63.

(b) Dreams were consider'd from the earliest antiquity as sacred admonitions and hints of futurity. Many of the heathen oracles were delivered in this manner, and even among the Jews we find several intimations conveyed to their prophets in the same way. The Romans in general were great observers of dreams, and Augustus Cæsar is said to have escaped a very imminent danger at the battle of Philippi, by quitting his tent in compliance with a dream of Antonius his physician*. This is mentioned to obviate any prejudice against Pliny, which may arise in the mind of a reader unacquainted with the prevailing sentiments of the ancients upon this point, who might otherwise be surprized to find our author talk seriously upon a subject of this nature. The truth is, as an eminent critic † has observed with great good sense, there seems to be as much temerity in never giving credit to dreams, as there is superstition in always doing so. “ It appears to me,” says he, that the true medium between these two extremes, “ is, to treat them as we would a known liar ; we are sure he “ most usually relates falsehoods, however, nothing hinders “ but he may sometimes speak truth.”

* Val. Max. 1. 1. c. 7. † Dacier sur Hor. 1. 2. Ep. 2.

portends you will acquit your self with great success. I had promised to be counsel for Julius Paftor; when I fancied in my sleep that my mother-in-law came to me, and throwing her self at my feet, earnestly intreated me not to be concerned in the cause. I was at that time a very young man; the case was to be argued in the four centum-viral courts; my adversaries were some of the most considerable men in Rome, and particular favorites of Cæsar; any of which circumstances were sufficient, after such an inauspicious dream, to have discouraged me. Notwithstanding this, I engaged in the cause, reflecting within my self,

*Without a sign, his sword the brave man draws,
And asks no omen, but his country's cause^c:*

for I looked upon the promise I had given, to be as sacred to me as my country, or, if that were possible, more so. The event happen'd as I wish'd; and it was that very cause which first procured me the favorable attention of the public, and threw open to me the gates of Fame. Consider then whether your dream, like that which I have related, may not portend success. Or after all, perhaps, you will think it more safe to pursue this cautious maxim: “never do a thing of which

“you

(c) Il. 12. 243. Pope;

"you are in doubt:" if so, write me word. In the interval I will consider of some expedient, and endeavor your cause shall be heard any day you like best. In this respect you are in a better situation than I was: the court of the Centumviri, where I was to plead, admits of no adjournment; whereas in that where your cause is to be heard, tho' it is not easy to procure one, still however it is possible. Farewel.

LETTER XIX. To ROMANUS FIRMUS.

AS you are my country-man, my school-fellow, and the earliest companion of my youth: as there was the strictest friendship between my mother and uncle, and your father; a happiness which I also enjoy'd as far as the great inequality of our ages would admit; can I fail (bias'd as I am towards your interest by so many strong and weighty reasons,) to contribute all in my power to the advancement of your dignity? The rank you bear in our province as a Decurio, is a proof that you are possessed at least of a ^a hundred thousand sesterces,

(a) About 800 l. of our money. The Sesterce was a Roman silver coin, the value of which the most accurate antiquarians have settled at 1 penny, 3 farthings and 3-4ths, making 1000 to be equal to 8 l. 1 s. 5 d. $\frac{1}{2}$; but to avoid fractions, in this place, and throughout all the following calculations, a thousand sesterces are considered as equivalent to only 8 l. Sterling.

sesterces; but that we may also have the pleasure of seeing you a Roman ^c knight, give me leave to present you with three hundred thousand ^d, in order to make up the sum requisite to entitle you to that dignity. The long acquaintance we have had, leaves me no room to doubt you will ever be forgetful of this instance of my friendship. And I need not advise you (what if I did not know your disposition, I should) to enjoy this honor with the modesty that becomes one who received it from me: for the dignity we possess by the good offices of a friend is a kind of sacred trust, wherein we have *his* judgment, as well as our own character, to maintain, and therefore to be guarded with peculiar attention.

Farewel.

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(c) "The Equestrian dignity, or that order of the Roman people which we commonly call *Knights*, had nothing in it (as a very eminent writer observes) analogous to any order of modern knighthood, but depended entirely upon a valuation of their estates; and every citizen whose entire fortunes amounted to 400,000 sesterces, that is, to 3229 l. of our money, was inrolled of course in the list of knights; who were considered as a middle order between the senators and common people, yet without any other distinction than the privilege of wearing a gold ring, which was the peculiar badge of their order." Life of Tully, v. 1. 3. *in not.*

(d) About 2400 l. sterling.

LETTER XX. To CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I have frequent debates with a learned and judicious person of my acquaintance, who admires nothing so much in the eloquence of the bar as conciseness. I agree with him, where the cause will admit of this manner, it may be properly enough pursued; but insist, that to omit what is material to be mentioned, or only slightly to touch upon those points which should be strongly inculcated, and urged home to the minds of the audience, is in effect to desert the cause one has undertaken. In many cases a copious manner of expression gives strength and weight to our ideas, which frequently make impressions upon the mind, as iron does upon solid bodies, rather by repeated strokes than a single blow. In answer to this he usually has recourse to authorities; and produces Lysias amongst the Grecians, and Cato and the two Gracchi among our own country-men, as instances in favor of the concise stile. In return, I name Demosthenes, Æschynes, Hisperides, and many others in opposition to Lysias; while I confront Cato and the Gracchi, with Cæsar, Pollio, Cœlius, and above all Cicero, whose longest oration is generally esteemed the best. It is in good compositions, as in every thing else that is valuable;

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the more there is of them, the better. You may observe in statues, basso-relievos, pictures, and the bodies of men, and even in animals and trees, that nothing is more graceful than magnitude, if it is accompanied with proportion. The same holds true in pleading; and even in books, a large volume carries something of beauty and authority in its very size. My antagonist, who is extremely dexterous at evading an argument, eludes all this, and much more which I usually urge to the same purpose, by insisting that those very persons, upon whose works I found my opinion, made considerable additions to their orations when they published them. This deny: and appeal to the harangues of numberless orators, particularly to those of Cicero for Murena and Varenus; where he seems to have given us little more than the general charge. Whence it appears, that many things which he enlarged upon at the time he deliver'd those orations, were retrenched when he gave them to the public. The same excellent orator informs us, that, agreeably to the ancient custom which allowed only one counsel on a side, Cluentius had no other advocate but himself; and tells us farther, that he employed four whole days in defence of Cornelius: by which it plainly appears, that those orations which, when delivered at their full length, had necessarily taken up so much time

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at the bar, were greatly altered and abridged when he afterwards comprised them in a single volume, tho' I must confess indeed, a large one. But it is objected, there is a great difference between good pleading, and just composition. This opinion, I acknowledge, has some favorers, and it may be true; nevertheless I am persuaded (tho' I may perhaps be mistaken) that, as it is possible a pleading may be well received by the audience, which has not merit enough to recommend it to the reader; so a good oration cannot be a bad pleading: for the oration upon paper is, in truth, the original and model of the speech that is to be pronounced. It is for this reason we find in many of the best orations extant, numberless expressions which have the air of unpremeditated discourse; and this even where we are sure they were never spoke at all: as for instance in the following passage from the oration against Verres,—“*A certain me-*
“*chanic—what's his name? Oh, I'm obliged to you*
“*for helping me to it: yes, I mean Polycletus.*” It cannot then be denied, that the nearer approach a speaker makes to the rules of just composition, the more perfect he will be in his art; always supposing however, that he has the necessary indulgence in point of time; for if he be abridged of that, no imputation can justly be fixed upon the advocate, tho' certainly a very great one is chargeable upon

upon the judge. The sense of the laws is, I am sure, on my side, which are by no means sparing of the orator's time : it is not brevity, but an enlarged scope, a full attention to every thing material, which they recommend. And how is it possible for an advocate to acquit himself of that duty, unless in the most insignificant causes, if he affects to be concise? Let me add what experience, that unerring guide, has taught me : it has frequently been my province to act both as an advocate and a judge, as I have often assisted as an ^a assessor, where I have ever found the judgments of mankind are to be influenced by different applications ; and that the slightest circumstances often produce the most important consequences. There is so vast a variety in the dispositions and understandings of men, that they seldom agree in their opinions about any one point in debate before them ; or if they do, it is generally from the movement of different passions. Besides, as every man naturally favors his own discoveries, and when he hears an argument made use of which had before occur'd to himself, will certainly embrace it as extremely convincing, the orator therefore should so adapt himself to his audience as to throw out something to

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every

(a) The Praetor was assisted by ten assessors, five of whom were senators, and the rest knights. With these he was obliged to consult before he pronounced sentence.

every one of them, that he may receive and approve as his own peculiar thought. I remember when Regulus and I was concerned together in a cause, he said to me, *You seem to think it necessary to insist upon every point; whereas I always take aim at my adversary's throat, and there I closely press him.* ('Tis true, he closely pursues whatever part he has once fixed upon; but the misfortune is, he is extremely apt to mistake the right place.) I answered, it might possibly happen that what he took for the throat, was in reality some other part. As for me, said I, who do not pretend to direct my aim with so much certainty, I attack every part, and push at every opening; in short, to use a vulgar proverb, *I leave no stone unturn'd.* As in agriculture, it is not my vineyards, or my woods alone, but my fields also that I cultivate; and (to pursue the allusion) as I do not content myself with sowing those fields with only one kind of grain, but employ several different sorts: so in my pleadings at the bar, I spread at large a variety of matter like so many different seeds, in order to reap from thence whatever may happen to hit: for the disposition of your judges is as precarious and as little to be ascertained, as that of soils and seasons. I remember the comic writer Eupolis mentions it in praise of that excellent orator Pericles, that

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On his lips Persuasion hung,

And powerful reason rul'd his tongue;

Thus he, alone, could boast the art,

To charm at once and sting the heart.

But could Pericles, without the richest variety of expression, and merely by force of the concise or the rapid style, or both together (for they are extremely different) have exerted that *charm* and that *sting* which the poet here speaks of? To delight and to persuade requires time, and a great compass of language; and to leave a *sting* in the minds of his audience, is an effect not to be expected from an orator who slightly pushes, but from him, and him only, who thrusts home and deep. Another comic poet, speaking of the same orator, says,

*His mighty words like Jove's own thunder roвл ;
Greece bears, and trembles to her inmost soul.*

But it is not the concise and the reserved, it is the copious, the majestic, and the sublime orator, who with the blaze and thunder of his eloquence hurries impetuously along, and bears down all before him. There is a just mean, I own, in every thing;

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but

(b) Aristophanes:

but he equally deviates from that true mark, who falls short of it, as he who goes beyond it; he who confines himself in too narrow a compass, as he who launches out with too great a latitude. Hence it is as common to hear our orators condemned for being too barren, as too luxuriant ; for not reaching, as well as for overflowing the bounds of their subject. Both, no doubt, are equally distant from the proper medium ; but with this difference however, that in the one the fault arises from an excess, in the other from a deficiency ; an error which if it be not a sign of a more correct, yet is certainly of a more exalted genius. When I say this, I would not be understood to approve that everlasting talker mentioned in Homer, but that other^d described in the following lines :

*Frequent and soft as falls the winter snow,
Thus from his lips the copious periods flow.*

not but I extremely admire him ^e too, of whom the poet says,

Few

(c) Therites, Il. 2. v. 212.

(d) Ulysses, Il. 3. v. 222.

(e) Menelaus, *ibid.*

Few were his words, but wonderfully strong.

Yet if I were to choose, I should clearly give the preference to the stile resembling *winter snow*, that is, to the full and diffusive; in short, to that pomp of eloquence which seems all heavenly and divine. But ('tis urged) the harangue of a more moderate length is most generally admir'd. It is so, I confess: but by whom? By the indolent only; and to fix the standard by the laziness and false delicacy of these, would surely be the highest absurdity. Were you to consult persons of this cast, they would tell you, not only that it is best to say little, but that it is best to say nothing.—Thus, my friend, I have laid before you my sentiments upon this subject, which I shall readily abandon, if I find they are not agreeable to yours. But if you should dissent from me, I beg you would communicate to me your reasons. For tho' I ought to yield in this case to your more enlightened judgment, yet in a point of such consequence, I had rather receive my conviction from the force of argument, than authority. If you should be of my opinion in this matter, a line or two from you in return, intimating your concurrence, will be sufficient to confirm me in the justness of my sentiments.

ments. On the contrary, if you think me mistaken, I beg you would give me your objections at large. Yet has it not, think you, something of the air of bribery, to ask only a short letter if you agree with me; but enjoin you the trouble of a very long one, if you are of a contrary opinion? Farewel.

LETTER XXI. To PATERNUS.

AS I rely very much upon the strength of your judgment, so I do upon the goodness of your eyes: not because I think your discernment very great (for I would not make you vain) but because I think it as good as mine: which, it must be owned, is saying a great deal in its favor. Jesting apart, I like very well the appearance of the slaves which were purchased for me by your recommendation; all that I want farther, is, to be satisfied of their behavior; and for this I must depend upon their characters more than their countenances. Farewel.

LETTER XXII. To CATILIUS SEVERUS.

I AM at present detained in Rome (and have been so a considerable time) under the most alarming apprehensions. Titus Aristo, whom I

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infinitely love and esteem, is fallen into a dangerous and obstinate illness, which deeply affects me. Virtue, knowledge, and good sense shine out with so superior a lustre in this excellent man, that learning herself and every valuable endowment seems involved in the danger of his single person. How consummate is his knowledge both in the political and civil laws of his country ! How thoroughly conversant is he in every branch of history and antiquity ! There is no article of science, in short, you would wish to be informed of, in which he is not skilled. As for my own part, whenever I would acquaint myself with any abstruse point of literature, I have recourse to him, as to one who supplies me with its most hidden treasures. What an amiable sincerity, what a noble dignity is there in his conversation ! How humble, yet how graceful is his diffidence ! Tho' he conceives at once every point in debate, yet he is as slow to decide, as he is quick to apprehend, calmly and deliberately weighing every opposite reason that is offered, and tracing it, with a most judicious penetration, from its source through all its remotest consequences. His diet is frugal, his dress plain ; and whenever I enter his chamber, and view him upon his couch, I consider the scene before me as a true image of ancient simplicity, to which his illustrious mind reflects the noblest ornament.

He places no part of his happiness in ostentation, but refers the whole of it to conscience; and seeks the reward of his virtue, not in the clamorous applauses of the world, but in the silent satisfaction which results from having acted well. In short, you will not easily find his equal even among our philosophers by profession. He frequents not the places of publick disputation^a; nor idly amuses himself and others with vain and endless controversies. His nobler talents are exerted to more useful purposes; in the scenes of civil and active life. Many has he assisted with his interest, still more with his advice! But tho' he dedicates his time to the affairs of the world, he regulates his conduct by the precepts of the philosophers; and in the practice of temperance, piety, justice and fortitude he has no superior. It is astonishing with what patience he bears his illness; how he struggles with pain, endures thirst, and quietly submits to the troublesome regimen necessary in a raging feyer. He lately called me, and a few more of his particular friends, to his bed-side, and beg'd we would ask his physicians what turn they apprehended his distemper would take: that if they pronounced it incurable, he might voluntarily put an end to his life; but if there were hopes of a recovery,

(a) The philosophers used to hold their disputation in the Gymnasia and Portico's, being places of most public resort for walking, &c.

recovery, however tedious and difficult, he might wait the event with patience; for so much, he thought, was due to the tears and intreaties of his wife and daughter, and to the affectionate intercession of his friends, as not voluntarily to abandon our hopes, if in truth they were not entirely desperate. A resolution this, in my estimation, truly heroical, and worthy of the highest applause. Instances are frequent enough in the world, of rushing into the arms of death without reflection, and by a sort of blind impulse: but calmly and deliberately to weigh the reasons for life or death, and to be determined in our choice as either side of the scale prevails, is the mark of an uncommon and great mind.^a. We have had the satisfaction of the opinion of his physicians in his favor; and may

heaven

(a) The general lawfulness of self-murder was a doctrine by no means universally received in the antient pagan world; many of the most considerable names, both Greek and Roman, having expressly declared against that practice. Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Tully, have condemned it: even Brutus himself, tho' he fell by his own hands, yet in his cooler and philosophical hours, wrote a treatise wherein he highly condemned Cato, as being guilty of an act both of impiety and cowardice in destroying himself. The judicious Virgil is also in the same sentiments, and represents such unhappy Persons as in a state of punishment.

*Proxima deinde tenent mæsti loca, qui sibi letum
Insontes peperere manu, lucemque peros
Projicere animam: Quam vellent ætere in alto,
Nunc & pauperiem, & duros perferre labores †.*

† Plut. in Brut. † Aen. 6. 434.

Theo

heaven give success to their art, and free me from this restless anxiety ! If that should happily be the event, I shall immediately return to my favourite Laurentinum, or, in other words, to my books and studious retirement. At present, so much of my time and thoughts is employed in attendance upon my friend, and in my apprehensions for him, that I have no leisure or inclination either to subjects of literature. Thus have I informed you of my fears, my wishes, and my intentions. Communicate to me, in your turn, but in a gayer stile, an account not only of what you are and have been doing, but even of your future designs. It will be a very sensible consolation to me in this perplexity of mind, to be assured that yours is easy. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII. To POMPEIUS FALCO.

YOU desire my opinion, whether you can with decency act as an advocate during your ^a Tribune? But before I determine that question, I must know what are your sentiments of that office; whether you look upon it as a mere shadow

Then crowds succeed, who prodigal of breath,
Themselves anticipate the doom of death;
Tho' free from guilt, they cast their lives away,
And sad and sullen hate the golden day.
Oh ! with what joy the wretches now wou'd bear
Pain, toil, and woe, to breathe the vital air. P. 17.

(a) See B. 9. let. 13. note 2.

of honor, and an empty title, or as a sacred and inviolable function, the exercise of which as no power can suspend, so neither ought the person himself who is invested with it? When I was my self in that post (possibly I might be mistaken in supposing I was become of any importance, however upon the supposition that I really was) I entirely quitted the bar. I thought it unbecoming a magistrate, who had a right, upon all occasions, of precedence, and in whose presence every body is obliged to rise, to be seen standing, while all about him were seated: That he who has authority to impose silence on any man, should himself be directed when to be silent: that he, whom it is held ^a impious to interrupt, should be exposed to the scurrilous liberties of bar orators; which to chastize, would be thought a sort of insolence of office, and yet it would be weakness to overlook. I considered farther, the great difficulty I should be under if either side should happen to appeal to me as Tribune, whether to interpose my authority, or, by a kind of resignation of it, to have acted in my private capacity. For these reasons I rather chose to be the tribune of all, than the advocate of a few. But with respect to

(a) As their characters were held sacred, it was esteemed the highest act of impiety to offer them any injury, or so much as to interrupt them when they were speaking.

you, I repeat it again, the whole depends upon what your sentiments are of this office, and under what character you would choose to appear; remembering always, that a wise man will take upon himself such only as he is capable of acting up to.
Farewel.

LETTER XXIV. To BEBIUS.

MY friend and guest Tranquillus has an inclination to purchase a small farm, which, as I am informed, an acquaintance of yours intends to dispose of. I beg you would endeavor he may have it upon reasonable terms: a circumstance which will add to his satisfaction in obtaining it. A dear bargain is always disagreeable, particularly, as it is a reflection upon the purchaser's judgment. There are several circumstances attending this little villa, which (supposing he has no objection to the price) are extremely suitable to my friend's taste: the convenient distance from Rome, the goodness of the roads, the smallness of the building, and the very few acres of land around it, which is just enough to amuse, but not to employ him. To a man of the studious turn that Tranquillus is, it is sufficient if he has but a small spot to relieve the mind and divert the eye, where he may saunter

round his grounds, traverse his single walk, grow familiar with his two or three vines, and count his little plantations. I mention these particulars, to let you see how much he will be obliged to me, as I shall to you, if you can help him to the purchase of this little *box*, so agreeable to his taste, upon terms of which he shall have no occasion to repent.
Farewel.



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were followed up. Successes, however, did not
and failure was more usual so far and there resulted
in all a general state of alarm. I now became chief
of a small army and though I did not pay
to soldiers or reward them in any way I was yet held
in high esteem among the inhabitants of New York and
among our neighbors on Long Island and I had to
leave.

ANT

III. JUDG. 2. 13. APPEND.

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Scandalous or notorious conduct which I am
not fit to name. **T H E** evil of which is now
well known to all.

LETTERS

OF THE VIRTUES OF JULIUS
CAESAR TO HIS FRIENDS AND FAMILIES.

P L I N Y.

BOOK II.

LETTER I. To VOCONIUS ROMANUS.

ROME has not for many years beheld a more magnificent and solemn spectacle, than was lately exhibited in the public funeral of that great man, the illustrious and ^a fortunate Virginius

(a) The antiquits seem to have considered fortune as a mark of merit in the person who was thus distinguished. Cicero (to borrow the observation of an excellent writer) recommended Pompey to the Romans for their general upon three accounts, as he was a man of courage, conduct, and *good-fortune*; and not only Sylla the dictator, but several of the Roman emperors, as is still to be seen upon their medals, among other titles, gave themselves that of *felix*, or fortunate.

ginius Rufus. After having rose to the highest point of glory, he lived thirty years in the full enjoyment of it; and as he had the satisfaction to see his actions celebrated by poets, and recorded by historians, he seems to have been carried forward, if I may so say, even to posterity. He was thrice raised to the dignity of Consul, that he who ^b refused to be the first of princes, might at least be the highest of subjects. As he escaped the resentment of those emperors, to whom his virtues had given umbrage, and even render'd him odious, and ended his days when this best of princes, this ^c friend of mankind, was in quiet possession

of

(b) At the time of the general defection from Nero, Virginius was at the head of a very powerful army in Germany, which had pressed him, and even attempted to force him to accept the title of Emperor. But he constantly refused it; adding, that he would not even suffer it to be given to any person but whom the senate should elect. With this army he march'd against Vindex, who had put himself at the head of 100,000 Gauls. Having come up with him, he gave him battle, in which Vindex was slain, and his forces entirely defeated. After this victory, when Nero's death was known in the army, the soldiers renewed their application to Virginius to accept the imperial dignity; and tho' one of the tribunes rushed into his tent, and threaten'd that he should either receive the empire, or his sword thro' his body, he resolutely persisted in his former sentiments. But as soon as the news of Nero's death was confirmed, and that the senate had declared for Galba, he prevailed with the army, tho' with much difficulty, to do so too. Plutarch. in Galb.

(c) The justness of this glorious title, *the friend of mankind*, which our author here gives to Nerva, is confirmed by the concurrent testimony of all the historians of these times. That excellent

of the empire, it seems as if providence had purposely preserved him to these times, that he might receive the honor of a public funeral. He arrived to the 84th year of his age in full tranquillity, and universally revered. He enjoyed a perfect state of health during his whole life, uninterrupted by any thing but a paralytic disorder in his hands, which however, was attended with no pain. His last sickness, indeed, was severe and tedious; but even the accident that occasioned it, added to his glory. As he was preparing to return his public acknowledgments to the emperor, who had raised him to the consulship, a large volume which he accidentally received at that time, too weighty for a feeble old man, slip'd out of his hands. In hastily endeavoring to recover it, the pavement being extremely slippery, he fell down and broke his thigh-bone; which fracture, as it was unskillfully set at first, and having besides the infirmities of age to contend with, could never be brought to unite again. The funeral obsequies paid to the memory of this great man, have done honor to the emperor, to the present age, and even to elo-

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quence

excellent emperor's short reign seems indeed to have been one uninterrupted series of generous and benevolent actions; and he used to say himself, he had the satisfaction of not being conscious of having committed a single act that could give just offence to any man. Dio. I. 68.

quence itself. The consul Cornelius Tacitus pronounced his funeral oration : for to crown the series of his felicities, he received the applause of the most eloquent of orators. He died full of years and of glory, as illustrious by the honors he refused, as by those he acquired. Still however, he will be missed and lamented by the world, as the bright model of a better age ; especially by myself, who not only admired him as a patriot, but loved him as a friend. 'We were not only natives of the same province, and of neighbouring towns, but our estates were contiguous. Besides these accidental connections with him, he was also left guardian to me ; and indeed he treated me with the affection of a parent. When ever I offered myself a candidate for any employment, he constantly supported me with his interest ; and in all the honors I have obtained, tho' he had long since renounced all offices of this nature, he would kindly give up the repose of his retirement, and come in person to solicit for me. At the time when it is customary for the priests to nominate such as they judge worthy to be received into their sacred ^d office, he constantly proposed me. Even in his

last

(d) Namely of Augurs. " This college, as regulated by Sylla, consisted of fifteen, who were all persons of the first distinction in Rome : it was a priesthood for life, of a character indelible, which no crime or forfeiture could efface ; it was necessary,

last sickness I received a distinguishing mark of his affection: being apprehensive he might be named one of the five commissioners appointed by the senate to reduce the public expences, he fixed upon me, young as I am, to carry his excuses, in preference to so many other friends of superior age and dignity; and in a very obliging manner assured me, that had he a son of his own, he would nevertheless have employed me. Have I not sufficient cause then to lament his death, as if it were immature, and thus pour out the fulness of my grief in the bosom of my friend? if indeed it be reasonable to grieve at all upon this occasion, or to call that event *death*, which, to *such* a man, is rather to be looked upon as the period of his mortality than the end of his life. He lives, my friend, and will continue to live for ever; and his fame will spread farther, and be more celebrated by mankind, now that he is removed from their sight.—I had many other things to write to you; but my mind is so entirely taken up with this subject, that I cannot call it off to any other. Virginius is constantly in my thoughts; the vain but lively impressions of him are continually be-

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fore

“ necessary, that every candidate should be nominated to the
“ people by two Augurs, who gave a solemn testimony upon
“ oath of his dignity and fitness for that office.” Middleton’s
life of Cic. v. 1. 529.

fore my eyes, and I am for ever fondly imagining that I hear him, converse with him, and embrace him. There are, perhaps, and possibly hereafter will be, some few who may rival him in virtue; but not one, I am persuaded, that will equal him in glory. Farewel.

LETTER II. To PAULINUS.

WHETHER I have reason for my rage, is not quite so clear; however wonderous angry I am. But love, you know, will sometimes be irrational; as it is often ungovernable, and ever jealous. The occasion of this my formidable wrath is great, you must allow, were it but just: yet taking it for granted that there is as much truth, as weight in it, I am most vehemently enraged at your long silence. Would you soften my resentment? Let your letters for the future be very frequent, and very long; I shall excuse you upon no other terms: and as absence from Rome, or engagement in business, is a plea I can by no means admit; so that of ill health, the Gods, I hope, will not suffer you to alledge. As for my self, I am enjoying at my villa the alternate pleasures of study and indolence; those happy privileges of retired leisure! Farewel.

LETTER III. To NEPOS.

WE had received very advantageous accounts of Iseus, before his arrival here ; but he is superior to all that was reported of him. He possesses the utmost facility and copiousness of expression, and his unpremeditated discourses have all the propriety and elegance of the most studied and elaborate composition. He speaks the Greek language, or rather the genuine Attic. His exordiums are polite, easy and harmonious ; and, when occasion requires, solemn and majestic. He gives his audience liberty to call for any question they please, and sometimes even to name what side of it he shall take ; when immediately he rises up in all the graceful attitude of an orator, and enters at once into his subject with surprizing fluency. His reflections are solid, and cloathed in the choicest expressions, which present themselves to him with the utmost facility. The ease and strength of his most unprepared discourses, plainly discovers he has been very conversant in the best authors, and much accustomed to compose himself. He opens his subject with great propriety ; his stile is clear, his reasoning strong, his inferences just, and his figures graceful and sublime. In a word, he at once instructs, entertains, and affects

you, and each in so high a degree, that you are at a loss to determine in which of those talents he most excells. His arguments are formed in all the strength and conciseness of the strictest logic : a point not very easy to attain even in studied compositions. His memory is so extraordinary, that he will repeat what he has before spoke extempore, without losing a single word. This wonderful faculty he has acquired by great application and practice ; for his whole time is so devoted to subjects of this nature, that he thinks and talks of nothing else. Tho' he is above sixty three years of age, he still chooses to continue in this profession ; than which, it must be own'd, none abounds with men of more worth, simplicity and integrity. We who are conversant in the business of the bar, and the real contentions of the world, unavoidably contract a certain acrimony, however contrary to our natural tempers : But the busines of the schools, as it turns merely upon matters of imagination, affords an employment as innocent, as it is agreeable ; and it must, methinks, be particularly so to those who are advanced in years ; as nothing can be more desirable at that period of life, than to enjoy those reasonable pleasures, which are the most pleasing entertainments of our youth. I look therefore upon Iseus, not only as the most eloquent, but the most happy of men ; as I shall esteem

esteem you the most insensible, if you appear to slight his acquaintance. Let me prevail with you then to come to Rome, if not upon my account, or any other, at least for the pleasure of hearing this extraordinary person. Do you remember to have read of a certain inhabitant of the city of Cadiz, who was so struck with the illustrious character of Livy, that he travelled to Rome on purpose to see that great genius ; and, as soon as he had satisfied his curiosity, returned home again ? A man must have a very inelegant, illiterate, and indolent (I had almost said a very mean) turn of mind, not to think whatever relates to a science so entertaining, so noble and so polite, worthy his curiosity. You will tell me, perhaps, you have authors in your own study, equally eloquent. I allow it ; and those authors you may turn over at any time, but you cannot always have an opportunity of hearing Ifeus. Besides, we are infinitely more affected with what we hear, than what we read. There is something in the voice, the countenance, the ^a habit, and gesture of the speaker,

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that

(a) The antients thought every thing that concerned an orator, worthy of their attention, even to his very dress. Ovid mentions the *habit*, as well as the air and mien of Germanicus, as expressive of his eloquence :

*Dum—silens adstat, status est vultusque diserti,
Spemque decens doctæ vocis amictus habet.* De Pont l. 2. 5.
E're

that concur in fixing an impression upon the mind, and gives this method of instruction greatly the advantage of any thing one can receive from books : This at least was the opinion of Æschines, who having read to the Rhodians a speech of Demosthenes, which they loudly applauded ; *but how*, said he, *would you have been affected, had you heard the orator himself thundering out this sublime harangue ?* Æschines, if we may believe Demosthenes, had great dignity of utterance ; yet, you see, he could not but confess it would have been a considerable advantage to the oration, if it had been pronounced by the author himself, in all the pomp and energy of his powerful elocution. What I aim at by this, is, to persuade you to come and hear Ifeus ; and let me again intreat you to do so, if for no other reason, at least that you may have the pleasure to say, you once heard him. Farewel.

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E'er yet he speaks, the orator is seen
In all the eloquence of *garb* and *mien*.

The author of the dialogue *de Orat.* 403. goes so far as to assign the use of a certain confined habit then in vogue, among the reasons which gave a check to the antient spirit of eloquence : and the judicious Quintilian thought it deserving his pains, to lay down very precise rules upon the article of his orator's garments. Vid. Init. *Orat.* l. 11, 3.

LETTER IV. To CALVINA.

If your father had left several creditors, or indeed a single one except my self, you might justly, perhaps, scruple ^a to enter upon his estate, which, with such encumberances, might prove a burthen too heavy even for one of our sex to undertake. But since, out of regard to the affinity that subsisted between us, I was contented to remain the only person unsatisfied who had any demand upon the estate, while other creditors, I will not say more troublesome, but certainly more cautious, were paid off: and as I contributed, you may remember, 100,000 ^b sesterces towards your marriage portion, over and above the sum your father charged upon this estate for your fortune, which may be esteemed my gift too, as it was to be paid out of a fund which was before appropriated to me—When you consider, I say, these instances of my friendship, you can want no assurance of my favorable disposition towards you. In confidence of which, you should not scruple to enter upon this estate, and by that means protect the memory of your father from the reproach of

his

(a) By the antient Roman law, the heir, if he entered upon the estate, was liable to the debts of the testator or ancestor, even tho' the estate was not sufficient to pay them.

(b) About 800 l. of our money.

his dying insolvent. But that I may give you a more substantial encouragement to do so, than meer words, I entirely acquit you of the debt which he owed me. Do not scruple to receive this present at my hands, upon the supposition that I can ill spare so large a sum. It is true, my fortune is but moderate : the expences which my station in the world requires are considerable ; while the yearly income of my estate, from the nature and circumstances of it, is as uncertain as it is small ; yet what I want in wealth, I make up by œconomy, the surest source that supplies my bounty. I must be cautious, no doubt, not to exhaust it by too much profusion ; but it is a caution which I shall observe towards others : With respect to your self, reason, I am sure, will justify my liberality, tho' it should exceed my usual bounds. Farewel.

LETTER V. To LUPERCUS.

I Send you at last the piece which you have so often desired, and which I have as often promised : but it is part of it only ; the remainder I am still polishing. In the mean while, I thought there would be no impropriety in laying before you such parts as were most correct. I beg you would read it with the same close attention that I wrote

wrote it; for I never was engaged in any work that required so much. In my other speeches, my diligence and integrity only were concerned; in this, I had to manifest my patriotism. But while I dwelt with pleasure upon the honor of my native country, and endeavor'd not only to support its rights, but heighten its glory; my oration swelled insensibly. However I beg you would abridge it, even in those favorite topics, wherever you find reason to do so: for when I consider the great delicacy of my readers, I am sensible the surest recommendation I can have to their favor, is by the shortness of the trouble I give them. But at the same time that I abandon my performance to your utmost severity in this instance, I must ask quarter for it in some others. Some consideration ought to be had to the taste of young people, especially where the subject admits of it. In view to this, I have given myself a latitude in the descriptions of places, which occur frequently in this performance; and have taken the liberty to treat them not only historically, but poetically. If any austere critic should take offence at this, and think it too florid for the gravity of these sort of compositions; the other parts of the oration will, I trust, satisfy his severity and obtain indulgence for these gayer colorings. I have, indeed, endeavor'd to gain my readers by adapting my style to their different turns. And tho'

tho' I am afraid there are some passages that will displease particular persons, as not falling in with their peculiar taste; yet, upon the whole, its variety, I imagine, will recommend it in general: as at an elegant entertainment, tho' we do not, perhaps, taste of every dish, yet we admire the general disposition of the whole; and if we happen to meet with something not to our palate, we are not the less pleased however with what *is*. I am not so vain as to pretend I have actually furnished out such an entertainment; I would be only understood to mean that I have attempted to do so. And possibly my attempt may not altogether prove fruitless, if you will exercise your skill upon what I now send you, and shall hereafter send. You will tell me, I know, that you can form no certain judgment till you see the whole. There is some truth in this, I confess: however, for the present you may acquaint your self with this detached part, wherein you will find some things, perhaps, that will bear a separate examination. If you were to be shewn the head, or any other part of a statue, tho' you could not determine what proportion it bore to the entire figure, yet you would be able to judge of the elegancy of that particular member. From what other principle is it that specimens of books are handed about, but that it is supposed the beauties of particular parts may be seen, without taking a view of the

the whole. — The pleasure I receive in conversing with you has carried me, I perceive, a greater length than I intended. But I stop here; for it is not reasonable that I, who am for setting bounds even to a speech, should set none to a letter. Farewel.

LETTER VI. To AVITUS.

IT would be a long story, and of no great importance, were I to tell you by what accident I (who am not very fond of such parties) supp'd lately with a person, who in his own opinion treated us with splendor and œconomy; but according to mine, in a sordid, yet expensive manner. Some very elegant dishes were serv'd up to himself and a few more of the company; while those which were placed before the rest were extremely mean. There were in small quantities, three different sorts of wine; but you are not to suppose it was, that the guests might take their choice: on the contrary, that they might not choose at all. The best was for himself and his friends of the first rank; the next for those of a lower order, (for, you must know, he measures out his friendship according to the degrees of quality) and the third for his own and his guests freed-men. One who sat near me took notice of this, and ask'd me how I

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approv'd of it? Not at all, I told him. Pray then, said he, what is your method on such occasions? Mine, I returned, is, to give all my company an equal reception; for when I make an invitation, it is in order to entertain, not *distinguish*, my company: I set every man upon a level with my self when I admit him to my table, not excepting even my freed-men, whom I look upon at those times to be my guests, as much as any of the others. At this he express'd some surprize, and ask'd me, if I did not find it a very expensive method? I assur'd him, not at all; and that the whole secret lay, in being contented to drink no better wine my self than I gave to them. And certainly if a man is wise enough to moderate his own luxury, he will not find it so very chargeable a thing to entertain all his visitors in general, as he does himself. Restrain the delicacy of your own palate within proper bounds, if you would be an œconomist in good earnest. You will find temperance a much better method of saving expences, than such reproachful distinctions. It were pity a young man of your excellent disposition should be imposed upon by the immoderate luxury which prevails at some tables, under the notion of frugality. And when ever any folly of this nature falls within my observation, I shall, in consequence of that affection I bear you, point it out to you as an

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example which you ought to shun. Remember therefore, nothing is more to be avoided than this modern conjunction of luxury and sordidness ; qualities extremely odious when existing in distinct characters, but much more so where they meet together in the same person. Farewel.

LETTER VII. To MACRINUS.

THE senate decreed yesterday, at the commendation of the emperor, a triumphal statue to Vestricius Spurinna : not as to many others who never saw a field of battle, or heard the sound of a trumpet, unless at a shew ; but as to one who by his martial virtues has justly merited that honor. Spurinna by the power of his arms restored the king of the ^a Bructeri to his throne ; and this by a victory of all others the most noble, for he struck such a terror into that warlike people, that they submitted at the very first view of his troops. But at the same time that the senate rewarded him as a hero, they considered him as a father ; and as a consolation to him for the loss of his son Cottius, who died during his absence upon that expedition, they voted likewise a statue to that excellent youth. A very unusual

(a) A people of Germany, supposed to have inhabited the country about Rees and Emerick, in the dutchy of Cleves.

usual honor for one of his early years: but the services of the father well deserved it; and so severe a wound required an extraordinary application. Indeed Cottius himself gave so remarkable a specimen of the noblest qualities, that it is but reasonable his life, which had so short a period, should be extended, as were, by this kind of immortality. The purity of his manners, and the gravity of his behavior created him such respect, that he well deserves to equal those venerable persons in honor, whom he rival'd in virtue: an honor, if I mistake not, confer'd not only in memory of the deceased youth, and in consolation to the surviving father, but for the sake of public example. The young men of this age will be hence encouraged to cultivate every worthy pursuit, when they see such distinguishing rewards bestow'd upon one of their own years: at the same time that men of quality will rejoice in having a numerous issue, while they may expect the satisfaction of leaving a worthy race behind, if their children survive *them*; or so glorious a consolation, if *they* survive their children. For the sake of the public therefore I am glad that a statue is decreed to Cottius: and so indeed I am upon my own; for I loved this accomplish'd youth as ardently, as I now tenderly regret him. It will be a great satisfaction to me to see this figure every

now

now and then as I pass by, and to stop sometimes to contemplate it. If there is a pleasure in looking upon the pictures of departed friends in our own house, how much more those public representations of them, which are not only memorials of their air and countenance, but of their glory and honor? Farewel.

LETTER VIII. To CANINIUS.

HOW is my friend employ'd? Is it in the pleasures of study, or in those of the field? Or does he unite ^a both together, as he well may, on the banks of our favorite Larius^b? The fish in that noble lake will supply you with sport of that kind; as the woods that surround it will afford you game; while the solemnity of that sequester'd scene will at the same time dispose your mind to contemplation. Whether you are entertained with all, or any of these agreeable amusements, far be it that I should say I envy you; but, I must confess, I greatly regret that I cannot partake of them too; a happiness I as earnestly long for, as a man in a fever does for drink to

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(a) B. i. Let. 6. in not.

(b) Now called Iago di Como, in the Milaneze. Comum, the place where Pliny was born, and near to which Caninius had a country house, was situated upon the border of this lake,

allay his thirst, or baths and fountains to assuage his heat. Shall I never break loose (if I may not disentangle my self) from these ties that thus closely with-hold me? I doubt indeed, never; for new affairs are daily increasing, while yet the former remain unfinished: such an endless train of business rises upon me, and rivets my chains still faster! Farewel.

LETTER IX. To APOLLINARIS.

I AM extremely anxious for the success of the petition, which Euritius has prefer'd to the senate; and I feel for my friend, what I never felt for my self. My credit and character are, indeed, in some measure at stake. I obtain'd for him of Cæsar the honor of wearing the ^a *Laticlave*, and the office of Quæstor; as it was by my interest that he was indulged with the privilege of petitioning for the Tribune; which if the senate should refuse him, I am afraid it will be thought I imposed upon the emperor. I must therefore, in support of my own character, endeavor, that the judgment of the public may confirm the opinion which Cæsar has conceived of him, by my representation. But if I

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(a) The *Laticlave* was some honorable distinction; but whether a particular sort of garment, or only an ornament upon it, the critics are not agreed.

were not obliged for these reasons to interest my self in the success of Euritius, yet his probity, good sense, and learning would incline me to assist him with my utmost power; as indeed, he and his whole family are deserving of the highest applause. His father, Euritius Clarus, is a man of strict honor and antient simplicity of manners; an able, eloquent and experienced advocate, and defends every cause he undertakes, with a courage and integrity equal to his great modesty. Septitius, his uncle, is one of the most plain, open, sincere and candid men I ever knew. There is a friendly contention amongst them who shall shew me most affection; which I am persuaded they all give me in an equal degree. I have now an opportunity of obliging the whole family, in the single person of Euritius; for which purpose, I warmly solicit all my friends, go about to every place of public resort, and, in a word, exert my whole power and credit to serve him. I must beg of you likewise to take some share of this trouble with me: I will return you the same good office when ever you shall require it, and even without your request. As you have many friends, admirers, and dependents, it is but shewing your self a well-wisher to Euritius in this affair, and numbers will be ready to second your inclinations. Farewel.

LETTER X. To OCTAVIUS.

YOU are certainly a most obstinate, I had almost said, a most cruel man, thus to withhold from the world such excellent compositions! How long do you intend to deny your friends the pleasure of your verses, and your self the glory of them? Suffer them, I entreat you, to come abroad, and to be admired; as they undoubtedly will, where ever the Roman language is understood. The public, believe me, has long and earnestly expected them, and you ought not to disappoint or delay it any longer. Some few poems of yours have already, contrary to your inclinations, indeed, broke their prison and escaped to light: these if you do not collect together, some person or other will claim the agreeable wanderers as their own. Remember, my friend, the mortality of human nature, and that there is nothing so likely to preserve your name, as a monument of this kind: all others are as frail and perishable as the men whose memory they pretend to perpetuate. You will say, I suppose, as usual, let my friends see to that. May you find many whose care, fidelity and learning render them able and willing to undertake so considerable a charge! But surely it is not altogether prudent to expect from others,

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what a man will not do for himself. However, as to publishing of them, I will press you no farther; be that when you shall think proper. But let me, at least, prevail with you to recite them, that you may be more disposed to send them abroad; and may receive the satisfaction of that applause, which I will venture, upon very just grounds, to assure you of before hand. I please myself with imagining the crowd, the admiration, the applause, and even the silence that will attend you: for the silence of an audience, when it proceeds from an earnest desire of hearing, is as agreeable to me as the loudest approbation. Do not then, by this unreasonable reserve, defraud your labors any longer of a fruit so certain and so desirable: if you should, the world, I fear, will be apt to charge you with carelessness and indolence, or, perhaps, with timidity. Farewel.

LETTER XI. To ARRIANUS.

YOU take pleasure, I know, in hearing of any thing that is transacted in the senate, worthy of that august assembly: for tho' love of ease has called you into retirement, your heart still retains its zeal for the honor of the public. Accept then the following account of what lately passed in that venerable body: a transaction for ever mem-

morable by its importance, and not only remarkable by the quality of the person concerned, but useful by the severity of the example. Marius Priscus, formerly Proconsul of Africa, being impeached by that province, instead of entering upon his defence, petitioned that a commission of select judges might be appointed for his tryal. Cornelius Tacitus and my self, being assigned by the senate counsel for that province, thought it our duty to inform the house, that the crimes which were alledged against Priscus, were of too atrocious a nature to fall within the cognizance of an inferior court: for he was charged with venality in the administration of justice, and even selling the lives of the innocent. Fronto Catius stood up in his favor, and moved that the whole enquiry might be confined to the single article of bribery; displaying upon this occasion all the force of that pathetic eloquence he is master of, in order to raise the compassion of the senate. The debates grew warm, and the members were much divided in their sentiments. Some were of opinion, that it was a matter which did not legally come under the enquiry of the senate: others, that the house was at liberty to proceed upon it or not, as it saw proper; and that the method of bringing him to punishment ought to be as extraordinary as his crimes.

crimes. At last Julius Ferox, the consul elect, a man of great worth and integrity, proposed that judges should be granted him provisionally, and in the mean while, that those persons should be proceeded against, to whom it was alledged he had sold innocent blood. Not only the majority of the senate gave into this opinion ; but, after all the contention that had been raised, it was unanimously received. From whence I could not but observe, that sentiments of compassion, tho' they at first operate with great violence, subside at length, and give way to the cool dictates of reason and judgment : thus it happens, that numbers will defend by joining in the general cry, what they would never calmly propose by themselves. The truth is, there is no discerning an object in a crowd, one must take it aside, if one would view it in its true light. Vitellius Honoratus, and Flavius Martianus, the persons who were ordered to be summoned, were brought before the house. Honoratus was charged with having given three hundred thousand ^b sesterces to procure a sentence of banishment against a Roman knight, as also the capital conviction of seven of his friends. Against Martianus it was alledged, that he gave seven hundred thousand ^c, that another Roman knight

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might

(b) About 2400 l. of our money.
(c) About 5600 l. of our money,

might be condemned to suffer various tortures ; which was accordingly executed, and the unhappy man was first whip'd, afterwards sent to work in the mines, and at last strangled in prison. But the death of Honoratus, prevented the justice of the senate upon him. Martianus however appeared, but without Priscus. Tullius Cerealis, therefore, who had been formerly consul, thought proper to move that Priscus, agreeable to his privilege as a senator, might have notice of what they were going upon : whether it was because he thought his being present would raise more compassion, or more resentment towards him ; or because, as I am inclined to believe, he thought it most equitable, as the charge was against them both, so they should both join in the defence, and be acquitted or condemned together. The affair was adjourned to the next meeting of the senate, which was the most august and solemn I was ever present at. The emperor himself, (for he was consul) presided. It happened likewise to be the month of January, a season remarkable upon many^d accounts, and particularly for the great number of senators it always brings together : moreover the importance of the cause, the noise it had made in the world, the expectation that had been raised by the several

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(d) In this month the several magistrates entered upon their respective offices.

adjournments, together with that innate disposition in mankind to acquaint themselves with every thing great and uncommon, drew the people together from all parts. Image to your self the concern and anxiety we, who were to speak before such an awful assembly, and in the presence of the prince, must feel. I have often pleaded in the senate; as indeed there is no place where I am more favorably heard; yet, as if the scene had been entirely new to me, I found my self under an unusual fear upon this occasion. Besides, there was something in the circumstances of the person accused, which added considerably to the difficulties I labored under: A man, once of consular dignity, and a member of the sacred college, now stood before me strip'd of all his honors. It was a painful office, I thought, to accuse one who appeared already condemned; and for whom therefore, tho' his crimes were enormous, compassion took its turn, and seem'd to plead in his behalf. However, I recollect my self enough to begin my speech; and the applause I received, was equal to the fears I had suffered. I spoke almost five hours successively, (for they indulged me above an hour beyond the time at first allotted to me) and what at my first setting out had most contributed to raise my apprehensions, proved in the event greatly to my advantage. The goodness,

goodness, the care of the emperor (I dare not say his anxiety) were so great towards me, that he frequently spoke to one of my attendants, who stood behind me, to desire me to spare my self ; imagining I should exert my strength beyond what the weakness of my constitution would admit. Claudio Marcellinus replied in behalf of Martianus. After which the assembly broke up till the next day ; for the evening coming on, there was not time to proceed farther. The next day, Salvius Liberalis, a very clear, artful, spirited and eloquent orator, spoke in defence of Priscus : and he exerted all his talents upon this occasion. C. Tacitus replied to him with great eloquence, and a certain dignity which distinguishes all his speeches. Fronto Catius rose up a second time for Priscus, and, in a very fine speech, endeavored, as indeed the case required, rather to soften the judges, than defend his client. The evening coming on, the senate proceeded no farther that day, but met the next, and entered upon the proofs. It was something very noble, and worthy of antient Rome, to see the senate, adjourned only by the night, thus assemble

for

(e) It was not lawful, says one of the commentators, for the senate to sit before sun-rise, nor after sun-set, and quotes Gellius in support of this opinion. But either this custom was drop'd in Pliny's time, or Gellius must be understood to mean, what Mr. Kennet expressly says, that no decree of the senate could pass after sun-set. For that the house actually sat after that time, appears from B. 4. Let. 9. *Dixit in noctem, atque etiam nocte, illatis lucernis.*

for three days together. The excellent Cornutus Tertullus, consul elect, ever firm in the cause of truth, moved, that Marius should pay into the treasury the ^f 700,000 sesterces he had received, and be banished Italy. He was for extending the sentence still farther against Martianus, and banishing him even Africa. He concluded with saying, that Tacitus and I having faithfully and diligently discharged the parts assigned to us, the senate declared, we had executed our trust to their satisfaction. The consuls elect, and those who had already enjoy'd that office, agreed with Tertullus, except Pompeius : he proposed that Priscus should pay the seven hundred thousand sesterces into the treasury, but to suffer no other punishment than what had been already inflicted upon him for ^g extortion : as for Martianus, he was for having him banished for five years only. There was a large party for both opinions, and perhaps the majority secretly inclined to the milder sentence; for many of those who appeared at first to agree with Tertullus, seem'd afterwards to join with Pompeius. But upon a division of the house, all those who stood near the consuls, went over to the side of Tertullus, Pompeius's party

(f) Honoratus being dead, that part of the charge against Marius, which related to his taking three hundred thousand sesterces of him, could not, it seems, be proved.

(g) A forfeiture of four times the sum received.

observing this, deserted him, and went over too; so that he was extremely exasperated against those who had urged him to this vote, particularly against Regulus, whom he upbraided for abandoning of him in a step, which he himself had advised. There is, indeed, such an inconsistency in the general character of Regulus, that he is at once both bold and timorous. Thus ended this important tryal: but there remains a considerable part of the business still behind. It is concerning Hostilius Firminus, lieutenant to Marius Priscus, who is strongly charged with being an accomplice with him: for it appears by the accounts of Martianus, and by a speech which he made in an assembly of the people at Leptis^h; that he had exacted fifty thousandⁱ Denarii of Martianus; that he was otherwise accessory to the wicked administration of Priscus; and that he received ten thousand^k sesterces under the title of his perfumer, an office perfectly well adapted to one of his effeminate delicacy. It was agreed, at the motion of Tertullus, to proceed against him, at the next meeting of the senate; for, either by accident or design, he was at

this

(h) In Africa.

(i) About 1458 l. of our money. The Denarius was the chief silver coin among the Romans: Mr. Greaves (who, as Dr. Arbuthnot observes, may be justly reckoned a classical author upon this subject) has valued it at seven pence three farthings. [Tab. Coins, 1.] But to avoid fractions, it is here considered as only equivalent to seven pence English.

(k) About 80 l. of our money.

this time absent.—Thus have I given you an account of what is doing in town. Let me know in return, the news of the country ; how your groves and your vineyards, your corn and your fine flocks of sheep florish ? In a word, if you do not send me a long letter, you must expect to be punished in your own way, and to receive from me for the future, none but short ones. Farewel.

LETTER XII. To the same.

THE remaining part of the enquiry, which I mentioned to you in my former letter, concerning the affair of Priscus, is at last, I will not say compleated as it ought, however it is finished. Firminus being brought before the senate, made such a sort of defence as a man generally does who is conscious of detected guilt. The consuls elect were much divided what judgment to give. Cornutus Tertullus moved he should be expelled the senate : but Nerva, with wonderous acuteness ! proposed, that he should be only declared for ever incapable of holding the office of Proconsul : and this, as it had the appearance of a milder sentence, prevailed ; tho' in truth it is of all others the most severe. For can any situation be more wretched, than to be obliged to undergo

dergo the fatigue of a member of the senate, at the same time that one is cut off from all hopes of enjoying those honors, to which a senator is entitled ? and after having received such an ignominy, were it not better to be for ever buried in retirement, than to be marked out by so conspicuous a station, to the view and scorn of the world ? Besides, to consider this with respect to the public, what can be more unbecoming the majesty of the senate, than to suffer a person to retain a seat in that august assembly, after having been publicly censured by it ? What can be more indecent than for the criminal to be ranked with his judges ? for a man excluded the Proconsulship, because he behaved infamously as a ^a lieutenant, to sit in judgment upon Proconsuls ? for one proved guilty of extortion, to condemn or acquit others of the like crimes ? Yet these reflections, it seems, made no impression upon the majority. Votes go by number, not weight ; nor can it be otherwise in assemblies of this kind, where nothing is more unequal than that equality which prevails in them, for tho' every member has the same right of suffrage, every member has not the same strength of judgment

(a) The lieutenant accompanied the Proconsul or governor, for the judging of inferior causes, and management of all smaller concerns, every thing of moment being referred to the immediate care of the governor himself.

judgment to direct it. I have thus discharged the promise I gave you in my last letter, which by this time, I imagine, (unless any accident has befalln the messenger) has reached your hands; for I trusted the conveyance of it to one, whose diligence and fidelity I am well assured of. I hope you will now, on your part, make me as full a return for this and my former, as the scene you are in will permit. Farewel.

LETTER XIII. To PRISCUS.

AS I know you gladly embrace every opportunity of obliging me, so there is no man to whom I had rather lay my self under an obligation. I apply to you, therefore, preferably to any body else, for a favour which I am extremely desirous of obtaining. You who are at the head of a very considerable army, have many opportunities of exercising your generosity; and the long time you have enjoyed your post, must have enabled you to provide for all your own friends. I hope you will now turn your eyes upon some of mine: they are but a few indeed, for whom I shall solicit you; tho' your generous disposition, I know, would be better pleased if the number were greater. But it would ill become me to trouble you with recommending

more

more than one or two : at present I will only mention Voconius Romanus. His father was of great distinction among the Roman knights ; and his father-in-law, or, as I might more properly call him, his second father, (for his affectionate treatment of Voconius entitles him to that appellation,) was still more conspicuous. His mother was one of the most considerable ladies of Upper Spain : you know what character the people of that province bear, and how remarkable they are for the strictness of their manners. As for himself, he has been lately admitted into the sacred order of Priesthood. Our friendship began with our studies, and we were early united in the closest intimacy. We lived together under the same roof, in town and country ; as he shared with me my most serious and my gayest hours ; and where indeed, could I have found a more faithful friend, or more agreeable companion ? In his conversation, and even in his very voice and countenance, there is the most amiable sweetnes ; as at the bar he discovers an elevated genius, an easy and harmonious elocution, a clear and penetrating apprehension. He has so happy a turn for ^a epistolary

(a) It appears from this, and some other passages in these letters, that the art of epistolary writing was esteemed by the Romans, in the number of liberal and polite accomplishments ; and

lary writing, that were you to read his letters, you would imagine they had been dictated by the Muses themselves. I love him with a more than common affection, and I know he returns it with equal

and we find Cicero mentioning with great pleasure, in some of his letters to Atticus, the elegant specimen he had received from his son, of his genius in this way. [ad Att. I. xv. 16, 17.] It seems indeed to have formed part of their education; as in the opinion of Mr. Lock it well deserves to have a share in ours. "The writing of letters, (as that judicious author observes,) enters so much into all the occasions of life, that no gentleman can avoid shewing himself in compositions of this kind. Occurrences will daily force him to make this use of his pen, which lays open his breeding, his sense, and his abilities, to a severer examination than any oral discourse." [Treat. on Educ. 86.] Pliny † was of the same opinion; for in a subsequent letter, wherein he lays down a method of study to one who desired his sentiments upon that head, he particularly recommends to him performances of this kind. It is to be wondered we have so few writers in our own language, who deserve to be pointed out as models upon such an occasion. After having named Sir William Temple, it would be difficult, perhaps, to add a second. The elegant writer of Mr. Cowley's life, mentions him as excelling in this uncommon talent; but as that author declares himself of opinion, "that letters which pass between familiar friends, if they are written as they should be, can scarce ever be fit to see the light," the world is unluckily deprived of what, no doubt, would have been well worth its inspection. A late distinguished genius treats the very attempt as ridiculous, and professes himself "a mortal enemy to what they call a fine letter!" His aversion however was not so strong but he knew how to conquer it when he thought proper, and the letter which closes his correspondence with Bishop Atterbury, is, perhaps, the most genteel and manly address that ever was pen'd to a friend in disgrace. The truth is, a fine letter does not consist in saying fine things, but expressing ordinary ones in an uncommon manner. It is the *propriæ communia dicere*, the art of giving grace and elegance to familiar occurrences, that constitutes the merit of this kind of

G *good* *art* *of* *writing.*

† B. 7. Let. 9.

equal ardor. Even in the earlier part of our lives, I warmly embraced every opportunity of doing him all the good offices which then lay in my power; as I have lately obtained for him of the^b emperor, the^c privilege granted to those who have three children. A favor which tho' Cæsar very rarely bestows, and always with great caution, yet he conferred, at my request, in such a manner, as to give it the air and grace of being his own choice. The best way of shewing that I think he deserves the obligations he has already received from me, is, by adding more to them, especially as he always accepts my favors with so much gratitude as to merit farther. Thus I have given you a faithful account of Romanus, and informed you how thoroughly I have experienced his worth, and how much I love him. Let me intreat you

writing. Mr. Gay's letter concerning the two lovers who were struck dead with the same dash of lightening, is a master-piece of the sort; and the specimen he has there given of his talents for this species of composition, makes it much to be regreted we have not more from the same hand: we might then have equal'd, if not excelled, our neighbors the French in this, as we have in every other branch of polite literature, and have found a name among our own countrymen to mention with the easy Voiture.

(b) Trajan.

(c) By a law passed A. U. 762, it was enacted, that whatever citizen of Rome had three children, should be excused from all troublesome offices where he lived. This privilege the emperors sometimes extended to those who were not legally entitled to it. See Book VII. Let. 16. in not. & B. X. Let. 95. in not.

to honor him with your patronage in a way suitable to the generosity of your heart, and the eminence of your station. But above all, admit him into a share of your affection ; for tho' you were to confer upon him the utmost you have in your power to bestow, you can give him nothing so valuable as your friendship. That you may see he is worthy of it, even to the highest degree of intimacy, I have sent you this short sketch of his character. I should continue my intercessions in his behalf, but that I am sure you do not love to be pressed, and I have already repeated them in every line of this letter ; for to shew a just reason for what one asks, is to intercede in the strongest manner. Farewel,

LETTER XIV. To MAXIMUS.

YOU guessed right ; I am a good deal weary of pleading before the Centumviri. The business one is engaged in there, has more of fatigue than pleasure. The causes are generally of small moment, and it is very seldom that any thing considerable, either from the importance of the question, or the rank of the persons concerned, comes before them. There is this farther disagreeable circumstance attending it, that there are very few lawyers who frequent this court, with whom I can take any sort of pleasure in being engaged. The

greater part is composed of a parcel of impudent, obscure young men, who come hither raw and unpractised from the schools, with so much irreverence and impropriety, that my friend Attilius with great justness observed, “our youth set out at ‘the bar with Centumviral causes, as they do at ‘school with Homer;” intimating, that in both places they begin where they should end. But in former times (to use an old man’s phrase) it was not customary for the youth, even of the best families, to appear in this court, unless introduced by some person of Consular dignity : so much respect did our ancestors bear to this noble profession. But now, since every fence of modesty and reverence is broke down, and all distinctions levelled and confounded, the youth of our days are so far from waiting to be introduced, they rudely rush in uninvited. The audience that follow them are fit attendants for such orators ; a low rout of hired mercenaries, assembling themselves in the middle of the court, where the dole is dealt round to them as openly, as if they were in a dining-room : and at this noble price they run from court to court ! The Greeks have a name in their language for these sort of people, importing that they are applauders by profession ; and we stigmatize them with the opprobrious title of parasites : yet the meanness aluded to in both languages increases every day.

It

It was but yesterday two of my servants, mere striplings, were hired for this goodly office at the price of three ^a denarii : such is the easy purchase of Eloquence ! Upon these honorable terms, we fill our benches and gather a circle ; and thus it is those unmerciful shouts are raised, when a man who stands in the middle of the ring gives the word. For you must know, without a signal, these honest fellows, who understand nothing of what is said, or if they did, could not hear it, would be at a loss how to time their applause : for those that do not hear a syllable are as clamorous as any of the rest. If at any time you should happen to pass by while the court is sitting, and would know the merit of any of our advocates, you have no occasion to give yourself the trouble of listening to them : take it for a rule, he that has the loudest commendations, deserves them the least. Largius Licinius was the first who gave rise to this custom, but then he went no farther than to solicit an audience. I remember to have heard my tutor Quintilian say, that Domitius Afer as he was pleading before the Centumviri, with his usual grave and solemn manner, heard on a sudden a most immoderate and unusual noise ; being a good deal surprised he left off : the clamor ceased,

(a) About one shilling and eleven pence farthing of our money.

and he began again : he was interrupted a second time, and a third. At last he enquired who it was that was speaking ? He was told, Licinius. *Alas !* said he, *Eloquence is no more !* The truth is, it then only began to decline, when in Afer's opinion, it was entirely perished ; whereas now it is almost utterly lost and extinct. I am ashamed to say with what an unmanly elocution the orators deliver themselves, and with what a squeaking applause they are received : nothing seems wanting to compleat this sing-song oratory, but the claps, or rather the music of the stage. At present we choose to express our admiration by a kind of howling (for I can call it by no other term) which would be indecent even in the theatre. Hitherto the interest of my friends, and the consideration of my early time of life has retained me in this court : for it would be thought, I fear, rather indolence, than a just indignation at these indecencies, were I yet to leave it : however I come there less frequently than usual, and am thus making a gradual retreat. *Farewel.*

LETTER

aditri val adi tui T. Now aid yd horumq; ton si i
nisi si b... How I... b... am... also
LETTER XV. To VALERIANUS.

HO W goes on your old estate at ^a Marsh ? and how do you approve of your new purchase ? Has it as many beauties in your eye now, as before you bought it ? That would be extraordinary indeed ! for an object in possession seldom retains the same charms it had in pursuit. As for my self, the estate left me by my mother uses me but ill ; however I value it for her sake, and am besides, grown a good deal insensible by a long course of bad treatment. Thus frequent complaints generally end at last in being ashamed of complaining any more.

LETTER XVI. To ANNIANUS.

YOU act agreeably to your usual kind concern for my interest, when you advise me to look upon the ^b codicil of Acilianus (who has appointed me one of his co-heirs) as void, because

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(a) One of the ancient divisions of Italy, comprehending part of what is now called the farther Abruzzo.

(b) A codicil, by the antient civil law, was a less solemn kind of will ; wherein it was not necessary to observe so strictly the ceremonies prescribed by the law for a will. But no legacy given by a codicil was valid, unless confirm'd by the will, which was esteemed its basis. This however, by later emperors, was altered. Vid. Just. Inst. T. 25. l. 2.

it is not confirmed by his will. That the law in this case esteems it invalid, I well know; and it is a point which even those who are ignorant of every other, are usually no strangers to. But I have a law of my own, which I shall always religiously observe; and that is, punctually to perform the will of the dead, tho' it may want the essential forms. This codicil, beyond all manner of doubt, is of Acilianus's own hand-writing: therefore tho' it is not confirmed by his will, I shall observe it as strictly as if it were; especially as there is no danger that any villainous informer can take advantage of this mistake. If indeed there was any hazard, that what I give to the legatees in the codicil, would be seized as forfeited to the use of the public, I should perhaps act with more deliberation: but as the forfeiture in this case is merely for the benefit of the heir, and he may dispose of what accrues to him as such, in the manner he thinks proper; nothing hinders, since the law does not, my observing that rule which I have laid down to myself. Farewel.

of his studies now in particular notice than
any thing else in his own works; and
LETTER XVII. To GALLUS.

YOU are surprized, it seems, that I am so fond
of my Laurentinum, or (if you like the appella-
tion better) my Laurens: but you will cease to
wonder, when I acquaint you with the beauty of the
villa, the advantages of its situation, and the ex-
tensive prospect of the sea-coast. It is but seven-
teen miles distant from Rome; so that having fi-
nished my affairs in town, I can pass my evenings
here

(a) Pliny had no estate round this seat, his whole pos-
sessions here being included (as he informs us in B. 4. Let. 6.) in
this house and gardens. It was merely a winter villa, in which
he used to spend some of the cold months, when ever his busi-
ness admitted of his absence from Rome; and for this reason
it is, that we find warmth is so much considered in the disposi-
tion of the several apartments, &c. And indeed he seems
to have a principal view to its advantages as a winter house
throughout the whole description of it. See Castel's villas of
the antients.

Scamozzi, in his *Archit. univers. l. 3. 12.* has given a plan
and elevation of this villa. Mons. Felibien has also annexed a
plan to his translation of this letter; as our own countryman
the ingenious Mr. Castel has done, in his *villas of the ancients
illustrated.* But they differ extremely among themselves as to
the disposition of the several parts of this building, and perhaps
have rather pursued the idea of modern architecture, than that
which is traced out in their original; at least, if the supposition
advanced by one of the commentators upon this epistle is
true; who contends, that the villas of the antients were not one
uniform pile of building contained under the same roof, but
that each apartment was a distinct and separate member from
the rest. The ruins of this villa are said to have been discovered
sometime about the year 1714, but whether any plan was ever
taken of so valuable a remain of antiquity, or the reality of it
ascertained, the translator has not been able to learn.

here without breaking in upon the business of the day. There are two different roads to it ; if you go by that of Laurentum, you must turn off at the fourteenth mile-stone ; if by Ostia, at the 11th. Both of them are in some parts sandy, which makes it something heavy and tedious if you travel in a coach, but easy and pleasant to those who ride. The landscape on all sides is extremely diversified, the prospect in some places being confined by woods, in others extending over large and beautiful meadows, where numberless flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, which the severity of the winter has drove from the mountains, fatten in the vernal warmth of this rich pasturage. My villa is large enough to afford all conveniences, without being expensive. The porch before it, is plain, but not mean, thro' which you enter into a portico in the form of the letter D, which includes a small, but agreeable area. This affords a very commodious retreat in bad weather, not only as it is inclosed with windows, but particularly as it is sheltered by an extraordinary projection of the roof. From the middle of this portico you pass into an inward court extremely pleasant, and from thence into a handsome hall which runs out towards the sea ; so that when there is a south-west wind it is gently washed with the waves, which spend themselves at the foot of it. On every side of

this hall there are either folding-doors or windows equally large, by which means you have a view from the front and the two sides, as it were of three different seas : from the back part you see the middle court, the portico and the area ; and by another view you look thro' the portico into the porch, from whence the prospect is terminated by the woods and mountains which are seen at a distance. On the left-hand of this hall, something farther from the sea, lies a large drawing-room, and beyond that, a second of a smaller size, which has one window to the rising, and another to the setting sun : this has likewise a prospect of the sea, but being at a greater distance, is less incommoded by it. The angle which the projection of the hall forms with this drawing-room, retains and increases the warmth of the sun, and hither my family retreat in winter to perform their exercises : it is shelter'd from all winds except those which are attended with clouds, so that nothing can render this place useless, but what at the same destroys the fair weather. Contiguous to this, is a room forming the segment of a circle, the windows of which are so placed as to receive the sun the whole day : in the walls are contrived a sort of cases, which contain a collection of such authors whose works can never be read too often. From hence you pass into a bed-chamber thro' a passage,

which

which being boarded, and hung, as it were, over a stove which runs underneath, tempers the heat which it receives and conveys to all parts of this room. The remainder of this side of the house, is appropriated to the use of my slaves and freed-men, but however most of the apartments in it are neat enough to entertain any of my friends, who are inclined to be my guests. In the opposite wing is a room ornamented in a very elegant taste; next to which lies another room, which tho' large for a parlor, makes but a moderate dining-room; it is exceedingly warmed and enlighten'd not only by the direct rays of the sun, but by their reflection from the sea. Beyond this, is a bed-chamber together with its anti-chamber, the heighth of which renders it cool in summer, as its being shelter'd on all sides from the winds, makes it warm in winter. To this apartment another of the same sort is joined by one common wall. From thence you enter into the grand and spacious *cooling-room*^b belonging to the baths ^c, from the opposite walls of which two round basons project, large enough to swim

(b) "The principal use of this room seems to have been designed to prepare the bodies of those that had been in the former room, for their going into the warmer air." Castel's villas, p. 33.

(c) "The custom of bathing in hot water, was become so habitual to the Romans in Pliny's time, that they every day practised it before they lay down to eat; for which reason

swim in. Contiguous to this is the perfuming-room, then the sweating-room, and beyond that, the furnace which conveys the heat to the baths: adjoining are two other little bathing-rooms, which are fitted up in an elegant rather than costly manner: annexed to this, is a warm bath of extraordinary workmanship, wherein one may swim, and

" son, in the city the public baths were extremely numerous; in which Vitruvius gives us to understand there were for each sex three rooms for bathing, one of cold water, one of warm, and one still warmer; and there were cells of three degrees of heat for sweating: to the fore-mentioned members were added others for anointing and bodily exercises. The last thing they did before they entered into the dining-room was to bathe; what preceded their washing was their exercise in the sphaeristerium, prior to which it was their custom to anoint themselves. As for their sweating rooms, tho' they were doubtless in all their baths, we do not find them to have been used but upon particular occasions."—
Castel's villas of the antients, p. 31.

The Roman magnificence seems to have displayed it self particularly in the article of their baths. Seneca dating one of his epistles from a villa which once belonged to the famous Scipio Africanus, takes occasion from thence to draw a parallel between the simplicity of the earlier ages, and the luxury of his own times in that instance. By the idea he gives of the latter, they were works of the highest splendor and expence. The walls were composed of Alexandrine marble, whose veins were polished and brighten'd in such a manner as to look like a picture; the edges of the basons were set round with a most valuable kind of stone, found in Thasius, one of the Greek islands, variegated with veins of different colors, interspersed with streaks of gold; the water was convey'd thro' silver pipes, and fell, by several different descents, in beautiful cascades. The floors were inlaid with precious gems, and an intermixture of statues and colonades contributed to throw an air of elegance and grandeur upon the whole. Vid. Sen: Ep. 86.

have a prospect at the same time of the sea. Not far from hence stands the tennis-court, which lies open to the warmth of the afternoon sun. From thence you ascend a sort of turret, which contains two entire apartments below; as there are the same number above, besides a dining-room, which commands a very extensive prospect of the sea and coast, together with the beautiful villas that stand interspersed upon it. At the other end, is a second turret, containing a room which faces the rising and setting sun. Behind this, is a large room for a repository, next to which is a gallery of curiosities, and underneath, a spacious dining-room, where the roaring of the sea, even in a storm, is heard but faintly: it looks upon the garden and the ^a *gestatio* which surrounds the garden. The *gestatio* is encompassed with a box-tree hedge, and where that is decayed, with rosemary: for the box in those parts which are sheltered by the buildings, preserves its verdure perfectly well; but where by an open situation it lies exposed to the dashing of the sea-water, tho' at a great distance, it entirely withers. Between the garden and this *gestatio* runs a shady walk of vines, which is so soft that you may walk bare foot upon it without any injury. The garden is chiefly planted with fig and mulberry trees, to which this soil is as favorable, as it is averse to all others. In this place is a ban-

(b) See p. 4. note c.

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queting-room, which tho' it stands remote from the sea, enjoys however a prospect nothing inferior to that view: two apartments run round the back part of it, whose windows look upon the entrance of the villa, and into a very pleasant kitchen-garden. From hence an enclosed portico extends it self, which by its grandeur you might take for a public one. It has a range of windows on each side, but on that which looks towards the sea they are double the number of those next the garden. When the weather is fair and serene, these are all thrown open; but if it blows, those on the side the wind sits are shut, while the others remain unclosed without any inconvenience. Before this portico lies a terrace perfumed with violets, and warmed by the reflection of the sun from the portico, which as it retains the rays, so it keeps off the north-east wind; and it is as warm on this side, as it is cool on the opposite: in the same manner it is a defence against the south-west, and thus in short, by means of its several sides, breaks the force of the winds from what point soever they blow. These are some of the winter advantages of this agreeable situation, which however are still more considerable in summer; for at

that

(e) "These inclosed porticos differed no otherways from our present galleries, than that they had pillars in them; the use of this room was for walking". Castel's villas, p. 44.

that season it throws a shade upon the terrace during all the forenoon, as it defends the *gestatio*, and that part of the garden which lies contiguous to it, from the afternoon sun, and casts a greater or less shade, as the day either increases or decreases ; but the portico itself is then coolest when the sun is most scorching, that is, when its rays fall directly upon the roof. To these advantages I must not forget to add, that by setting open the windows, the western breezes have a free draught, and by that means the enclosed air is prevented from stagnating. On the upper end of the terrace and portico stands a detached building in the garden, which I call my *favorite* ; and in truth I am extremely fond of it, as I erected it myself. It contains a very warm winter-room, one side of which looks upon the terrace, the other has a view of the sea, and both lie exposed to the sun. Through the folding-doors you see the opposite chamber, and from the window is a prospect of the *enclosed portico*. On that side next the sea, and opposite to the middle wall, stands a little elegant retir'd closet, which by means of glass doors and a curtain, is either laid into the adjoining room, or separated from it. It contains a couch and two chairs : As you lie upon this couch, from the feet you have a prospect of the sea ; if you look behind, you see the neighbouring

boring villas ; and from the head you have a view of the woods : these three views may be seen either distinctly ^e from so many different windows in the room, or blended together in one confused prospect. Adjoining to this, is a bedchamber, which neither the voice of the servants, the murmur of the sea, nor even the roaring of a tempest can reach ; not lightening nor the day itself can penetrate it, unless you open the windows. This profound tranquillity is occasioned by a passage, which divides the wall of this chamber from that of the garden, and thus by means of that void intervening space, every noise is drowned. Annexed to this, is a small stove-room, which by opening a little window, warms the bed-chamber to the degree of heat required. Beyond this, lies a chamber and anti-chamber, which enjoys the sun, tho' obliquely indeed, from the time it rises till the afternoon. When I retire to this garden-apartment, I fancy myself a hundred miles from my own house, and take particular pleasure in it at the feast of the ^f Saturnalia, when, by the licence of that

H season

(e) " It must have been from the middle of the room that he could see all these prospects separate and distinct, which upon a nearer approach to any particular window must have appeared intermingled". Castel's Villas, p. 48.

(f) A feast held in honor of the god Saturn, which began on the 19th of December, and continued, as some say, for seven days. It was a time of general rejoicing, particularly among

season of joy, every other part of my villa resounds with the mirth of my domestics : thus I neither interrupt their diversions, nor they my studies. Among the pleasures and conveniencies of this situation, there is one disadvantage, and that is, the want of a running stream ; but this defect is in a great measure supplied by wells, or rather I should call them springs, for they rise very near the surface. And indeed the quality of this coast is pretty remarkable ; for in what part soever you dig, you meet, upon the first turning up of the ground, with a spring of pure water, not in the least salt, tho' so near the sea. The neighboring forests afford an abundant supply of fuel ; as every other convenience of life may be had from Ostia : to a moderate man, indeed, even the next village (between which and my house there is only one villa) would furnish all the common necessaries of life. In that little place there are no less than three public baths ; which is a great conveniency if it happens that my friends come in unexpectedly, or make too short a stay to allow time for preparing my own. The whole coast is beautifully diversified by the joining or detached villas that are spread upon it, which whether you view them from the sea or the shore, have a much more agreeable effect,

among the slaves, who had at this season the privilege of treating their masters with great freedom.

effect, than if it was crowded with towns. It is sometimes, after a long calm, good travelling upon the coast, tho' in general, by the storms driving the waves upon it, it is rough and uneven. I can not boast that our sea produces any very extraordinary fish; however it supplies us with exceeding fine foals and prawns: but as to provisions of other kinds, my villa pretends to excell even inland countries; particularly in milk, for thither the cattle come from the meadows in great numbers, in pursuit of shade and water. Tell me now, have I not just cause to bestow my time and my affection upon this delightful retreat? Surely you are unreasonably attach'd to the pleasures of the town, if you have no inclination to take a view of it; as I much wish you had, that to so many charms with which my favorite ^f villa abounds, it might have the very considerable addition of your presence to recommend it. Farewel.

(f) Mr. Castel observes, that tho' Pliny here calls his house Villula; it appears that after having described but part of it, yet, if every Diæta or intire apartment may be supposed to contain three rooms, he has taken notice of no less than forty six, besides all which there remains near half the house undescribed, which was, as he says, allotted to the use of the servants; and it is very probable this part was made uniform with that he has already described.—But it must be remembered, that diminutives in Latin do not always imply smallness of size, but are frequently used as words of endearment and approbation; and in this sense it seems most probable that Pliny here uses the word *Villula*.

LETTER XVIII. To MAURICUS.

WHAT can be more agreeable to me than the office you have enjoined me, of choosing a proper tutor for your nephews? It gives me an opportunity of revisiting the scene of my education, and of turning back again to the most pleasing part of my life. I take my seat, as formerly, among the young lads, and have the pleasure to experience the respect my character in eloquence meets with from them. I lately came in upon them, while they were warmly declaiming before a very full audience of persons of the first rank; the moment, I appeared they were silent. I mention this for their honor, rather than my own; and to let you see the just hopes you may conceive of placing your nephews here to their advantage. I purpose to hear all the several professors; and when I have done so, I shall write you such an account of them as will enable you (as far as a letter can) to judge of their respective abilities. The faithful execution of this important commission, is what I owe to the friendship that subsists between us, and to the memory of your brother. Nothing, certainly, is more your concern, than that his children (I would have said *yours*, but that I know you now look upon them even with more tenderness)

ness than your own) may be found worthy of such a father, and such an uncle : and I should have claimed a part in that care, tho' you had not required it of me. I am sensible, in choosing a Preceptor, I shall draw upon me the displeasure of all the rest of that profession : but when the interest of these young men is concerned, I esteem it my duty to hazard the displeasure, or even enmity of any man, with as much resolution as a parent would for his own children. Farewel.

LETTER XIX. To CEREALIS.

YOU advise me to read my late speech before an assembly of my friends. I shall do so, since it is agreeable to your opinion, tho' I have many scruples about it. Compositions of this kind lose, I well know, all their fire and force, and even almost their very name, by a plain recital. It is the solemnity of the tribunal, the concourse of ones friends, the expectation of the success, the emulation between the several orators concerned, the different parties formed amongst the audience in their favor ; in a word, it is the air, the ^a motion, the attitude of the speaker, with all

H 3 the

(a) Some of the Roman orators were as much too vehement in their action, as those of our own country are too calm and spiritless. In the violence of their elocution they not only used

the corresponding gestures of his body, which conspire to give a spirit and grace to what he delivers. Hence those who sit when they plead, tho' they have most of the other advantages I just now mentioned, yet, from that single circumstance, weaken and depress the whole force of their eloquence. The eyes and hands of the reader, those important instruments of graceful elocution, being engaged, it is no wonder the hearer grows languid, while he has none of those awakening charms to excite and engage his attention. To these general considerations, I must add this particular disadvantageous circumstance, which attends the speech in question, that it is chiefly of the argumentative kind; and it is natural for an author to suspect, that what he wrote with labor will not be read with pleasure. For who is there so unprejudiced, as not to prefer the flowing and florid oration, to one in this close and unornamented stile? It is very unreasonable there should be any difference, however it is certain the judges generally expect one manner of pleading, and the audience another;

whereas

used all the warmth of gesture, but actually walked backwards and forwards. Tully and Quintilian have laid down rules how far, and in what instance this liberty was allowable, and both agree, it ought to be used with great caution and judgment. The latter of those excellent critics mentions upon this occasion a witticism of Flavius Virginius, who asked one of these walking orators, *Quot millia passuum declamasset?* "How many miles, he had declaimed?" Quint. inst. ed. Oxon. p. 587.

whereas in truth an auditor ought to be affected only with those things which would strike him, were he in the place of the judge. Nevertheless it is possible the objections which lie against this piece may be got over, in consideration of the novelty it has to recommend it: the novelty I mean with respect to us; for the Greek orators have a method, tho' upon a different occasion, not altogether unlike what I made use of. They, when they would throw out a law, as contrary to some former one unrepealed, argue by comparing those laws together; so I, on the contrary, endeavored to shew, that the crime ^b, which I was insisting upon as falling within the intent and meaning of the law relating to public extortions, was agreeable, not only to that, but likewise to other laws of the same nature. Those who are not conversant in the laws of their country, can have no taste for reasonings of this kind; but those who are, ought to be so much the more pleased with them. I shall endeavor therefore, if you persist in my reciting it, to collect a judicious audience. But before you determine this point, I intreat you thoroughly to weigh the difficulties I have laid before you, and then de-

H 4 cide

(b) Some of the commentators are of opinion, (and it is not improbable,) that the speech mentioned in this letter, is the same which Pliny delivered in the senate against M. Priscus. See letter xi. of this book.

cide as reason shall direct : for it is reason that must justify you ; obedience to your commands will be a sufficient apology for me. Farewel.

LETTER XX. To CALVISIUS.

ARE you inclined to hear a story, or if you please two or three ? for one brings to my mind another. 'Tis no matter which I begin with, so take them as follows. Verania, the widow of Piso who was adopted by Galba, lay extremely ill : upon this occasion Regulus made her a visit. By the way, mark the assurance of the man, to visit a lady to whom he was so extremely odious, and to whose husband he was a declared enemy ! Even barely to enter her house would have been impudent enough ; but he had the confidence to go much farther, and very familiarly place himself by her bed's side. He began very gravely with enquiring what day and hour she was born ? Being inform'd of these important particulars, he composes his countenance, fixes his eyes, mutters something to himself, counts his fingers, and all this merely to keep the poor sick lady in suspence. When he had finished this ridiculous mummery, *You are*, says he, *in one of your climacterics* ; *however you will get over it*. *But for your greater satisfaction*, *I will*

con-

consult with a certain diviner, whose skill I have frequently experienced. Accordingly away he went, consults the omens, and returns with the strongest assurances that they confirmed what he had promised on the part of the stars. Upon this the credulous good woman calls for her will, and gives Regulus a handsome legacy. Some time afterwards her distemper increased; and in her last moments she exclaim'd against this infamous wretch who had thus basely deceived her, tho' he wish'd every curse might befall his son, if what he promised her was not true. But such sort of imprecations are as common with Regulus, as they are impious; and he continually devotes that unhappy youth to the curses of those gods, whose vengeance his own frauds every day provoke.

Velleius Blæsus, a person of consular dignity, and remarkable for his immense wealth, in his last sickness had an inclination to make some alterations in his will. Regulus, who had lately endeavored to insinuate himself into his friendship, hoped to receive some advantage by the intended change, and accordingly applies himself to his physicians, and conjures them to exert all their skill to prolong the poor man's life. But the moment the will was sign'd, his stile was changed. *How long, says he to these very physicians, do you design to keep this man in misery? Since you cannot preserve*

bis

bis life, why will you prolong his death? Blæsus is since dead; and as if he had over-heard every word that Regulus had said, he has not left him one farthing. —— And now have you had enough? or like a truant school-boy, are you for listening still to another tale? if so, Regulus will supply you. You must know then, that Aurelia, a lady of distinguish'd accomplishments, designing to * execute her will, had dressed herself for that purpose in a very splendid manner. Regulus, who was present as a witness, turn'd about to the lady, and,

(a) This was an act of great ceremony; and if Aurelia's habit was of the kind which we know some of the Roman ladies wore, the legacy must have been considerable which Regulus had the impudence to ask. “*The vestes Byssinæ* (as the ingenious Dr. Arbuthnot observes) which we are told some of the ladies wore, must have been of such an extravagant price, that there is no stuff in our age comes up to it. The very materials of which would be worth 49l. 12s. the pound averdupois weight, and consequently a garment weighing 20 pound would cost 992 l. exclusive of the manufacture.” Arb. of ancient coins, &c. p. 146. Now am upon this head, I cannot forbear mentioning the prodigious extravagance of these ladies in the article of jewels. Pliny the elder says, he saw * Lollia Paulina with an equipage of this kind, amounting (according to the above-cited author's calculation) to 322,916l. 13s. 4d. of our money. In one instance of expence however, antiquaries are of opinion, that the modern ladies excel the antient, and tho' there appears an infinite variety of head-dresses upon busts, statues, and medals, yet it is learnedly debated whether the Roman ladies were so costly in them as the English. For the credit of the *Tête*, I beg leave to add, that it is of a very antient original, and is known to have made its appearance among Consuls and Dictators.

* Lib. 9. 35.

and, *Pray*, says he, *leave me these fine cloaths.* Aurelia at first thought him in jest : but he insisted upon it very seriously, and obliged her to open her will, and insert this legacy ; and tho' he saw her write it, yet he would not be satisfied till he read the clause himself. However Aurelia is still alive ; tho' Regulus, no doubt, when he begged this bequest, expected soon to enjoy it. Thus are legacies and estates confer'd upon this abandon'd man, as if he really deserved them ! But why should I wonder at this in a city where impudence and iniquity receive the same, do I say, even greater encouragement than modesty and virtue ? Regulus is a glaring instance of this truth, who, from a state of indigence, has, by a train of the most villainous actions, arriv'd to such immense riches, that he once told me, upon consulting the amens to know how soon he should be worth sixty millions of festerces ^b, he found them so favorable to him, as to portend he should possess double that sum. And possibly he may, if he continues thus to dictate wills for other people : a sort of fraud, in my estimation, of all others the most infamous. Farewel.

(b) About 434,320 l. of our money.

21 SEP 1964

THE
LETTERS
OF
PLINY.

BOOK III.

LETTER I. To CALVISIUS.

I Never spent my time more agreeably, I think, than I did lately with Spurinna. I am so much pleased with the uninterrupted regularity of his way of life, that if ever I should arrive at old age, there is no man whom I would sooner choose for my model. Order in human actions, especially at that advanced period, is as pleasing to me as the settled course of the heavenly bodies. In youth, indeed, there is a certain irregularity and agitation by no means unbecoming: but in age,

when

when business is unseasonable, and ambition indecent, all should be calm and uniform. This rule Spurinna religiously pursues throughout his conduct. Even in those transactions which one might call minute and inconsiderable, if they did not occur every day, he observes a certain periodical season and method. The first part of the morning he devotes to study ; at eight he dresses, and walks about three miles, in which he enjoys at once contemplation and exercise. At his return, if he has any friends with him in his house, he enters upon some polite and useful topic of conversation ; if he is alone, somebody reads to him ; and sometimes too, when he is not, if it is agreeable to his company. When this is over, he reposes himself, and then again either takes up a book, or falls into some discourse even more entertaining and instructive. He afterwards takes the air in his chariot, either with his wife (who is a lady of uncommon merit) or with some friend : a happiness which lately was mine. — How agreeable, how noble is the enjoyment of him in that hour of privacy ! You would fancy you were hearing some worthy of ancient times, inflaming your breast with the most heroic examples, and instructing your mind with the most exalted precepts ; which yet he delivers with so modest an air, that there is not the least appearance of dictating in his conversation.

sation. When he has thus taken a tour of about seven miles, he gets out of his chariot and walks a mile more, after which he returns home, and either reposes himself, or retires to his study. He has an excellent taste for poetry, and composes in the lyric manner, both in Greek and Latin, with great judgment. It is surprizing what an ease and spirit of gayety runs thro' his verses, which the merit of the author renders still more valuable. When the baths are ready, which in winter is about three o' clock, and in summer about two, he undresses himself; and if there happens to be no wind, he walks for some time in the sun^a. After this he plays a considerable time at tennis; for by this sort of exercise too, he combats the effects of old age. When he has bathed, he throws himself upon a couch till supper^b time, and in the mean while some agreeable and entertaining author is read to him. In this, as in all the rest, his friends are at full liberty to partake; or to employ themselves in any other manner more agreeable to their taste. You sit down to an elegant, yet frugal repast,

which

(a) See B. 6. Let. 19. in not.

(b) This was the principal meal among the Romans, at which all their feasts and invitations were made; they usually began it about their 9th hour, answering pretty nearly to our 3 o' clock in the afternoon. But as Spurinna, we find, did not enter upon the exercises which always preceded this meal till the 8th or 9th hour, if we allow about 3 hours for that purpose, he could not sit down to table, till towards 6 or 7 o'clock. See Let. 5. of this B. in not. p. 137.

which is serv'd up in pure and antique plate. He has likewise a compleat equipage for his side-board, in Corinthian ^c metal, which is his pleasure, not his passion. At his table he is frequently entertained with comedians, that even his very amusements may be seasoned with good sense; and tho' he continues there, even in summer, till the night is something advanced, yet he prolongs the feast with so much affability and politeness, that none of his guests ever think it tedious. By this method of living he has preserved all his senses entire, and his body active and vigorous to his 78th year, without discovering any appearance of old age, but the wisdom. This is the sort of life which I ardently wish for and purpose to enjoy, when I shall arrive at those years which will justify a retreat from business. In the mean while, I am embarrassed with a thousand affairs, in which Spurinna is at once my support and my example. As long as it became him, he enter'd into all the duties of public life. It was by passing thro' the offices of the state, by governing provinces, and by indefatigable toil,

that

(c) This metal, whatever it was composed of, (for that point is by no means clear) was so highly esteemed among the antients, that they prefer'd it even to gold.

—*Eroque ab Ithmiaci auro potiora favillis.*

Stat. Sylv. 2.

—Corinthian brass more precious far than gold.

that he merited the repose he now enjoys. I propose to my self the same course and the same end : and I give it to you under my hand that I do so. If an ill-timed ambition should carry me beyond it, produce this letter against me ; and condemn me to repole, whenever I can enjoy it without being reproached with indolence. Farewel.

LETTER II. To MAXIMUS.

I Think I may claim a right to ask the same services of you for my friends, as I wou'd offer to yours if I were in your station. Arrianus Maturius is a person of great eminence among the Altinates.^a When I call him so, it is not with respect to his fortunes ; (which however are very considerable) it is in view to the purity, the integrity, the prudence, and the gravity of his manners. His counsel directs me in my affairs, and his judgment in my studies ; for truth, honor and knowledge, are the shining qualities which mark his character. He loves me (and I cannot express his affection in stronger terms) with a tenderness equal to yours. As he is a stranger to the passion of ambition, he is contented with remaining in the Equestrian order, when he might easily have advanc'd himself into a higher rank. It behoves me however to

I take

(a) Altino in the Venetian territories, now destroy'd.

take care his merit be rewarded with the honors it deserves ; and I would fain without his knowledge or exspectation, and probably too contrary to his inclination, add to his dignity. The post I would obtain for him should be something very honorable, and yet attended with no trouble. I beg when any thing of that nature offers, you would think of him ; it will be an obligation, which both he and I shall ever remember with the greatest gratitude. For tho' he has no aspiring wishes to satisfy, he will be as sensible of the favor, as if he had received it in consequence of his own desires.

Farewel.

LETTER III. To HIS PULLA.

IT is not easy to determine whether my love or esteem were greater, for that wise and excellent man your father ; but this is most certain, that in respect to his memory and your virtues, I have the tenderest value for you. Can I fail then to wish (as I shall by every means in my power endeavor) that your son may copy the virtues of both his grandfathers, particularly his maternal? as indeed his father and his uncle will furnish him also with very illustrious examples. The surest method to train him up in the steps of these valuable men, is early to season his mind with polite learn-

ing

ing and useful knowledge ; and it is of the last consequence from whom he receives these instructions. Hitherto he has had his education under your eye, and in your house, where he is exposed to few, I should rather say to no wrong impressions. But he is now of an age to be sent from home, and it is time to place him with some professor of Rhetoric ; of whose discipline and method, but above all of whose morals you may be well satisfied. Amongst the many advantages for which this amiable youth is indebted to nature and fortune, he has that of a most beautiful person ; it is necessary therefore, in this loose and slippery age, to find out one who will not only be his tutor, but his guardian and his guide. I will venture to recommend Julius Genitor to you under that character. I love him, I confess extremely : but my affection does by no means prejudice my judgment, on the contrary it is, in truth, the effect of it. His behavior is grave, and his morals irreproachable ; perhaps something too severe and rigid for the libertine manners of these times. His qualifications in his profession you may learn from many others ; for the art of eloquence, as it is open to all the world, is soon discover'd : but the qualities of the heart lie more concealed, and out of the reach of common observation ; and it is on *that* side I undertake to be answerable for my friend. Your

son will hear nothing from this worthy man, but what will be for his advantage to know, nor learn any thing that it would be happier for him to be ignorant of. He will represent to him as often, and with as much zeal as you or I shou'd, the virtues of his family, and what a glorious weight of characters he has to support. You will not hesitate then to place him with a tutor, whose first care will be to form his manners, and afterwards to instruct him in eloquence ; an attainment ill-acquired if with the neglect of moral improvements. Farewel.

LETTER IV. To MACRINUS.

THO' my friends here, as well as the town in general, seem to approve of my conduct, in the affair I am going to mention, yet I cannot satisfy myself without knowing your sentiments ; and as I wished for your advice before I engaged in it, so I am extremely desirous of your judgment now it is over. Having obtain'd leave to be absent from my office as head of the treasury, I went into Tuscany, to look after some works which I am carrying on there for the benefit of that province, at my own expence. In the interval, deputies on the part of the Bætici arrived, with complaints of some grievances they had suffered under the govern-

government of Cecilius Classicus, and applied to the senate that I might be appointed counsel for them. My very worthy and obliging colleagues represented on my behalf, the necessary engagements of our office, and endeavor'd all they could to get me excused. Upon this the senate pass'd a decree greatly to my honor: they order'd that I should be counsel for the province, provided the deputies could obtain my consent. At my return they were again introduced into the senate, and there renewed their petition in my presence. They conjured me by that generous assistance I had given them in their cause against Bæbius, and by all the obligations I lay under of supporting my avow'd clients, that I would not now desert them. I perceived the senate was inclined to grant this petition, by that general assent which is the usual forerunner of all their decrees. Whereupon I rose up and told the house, that I no longer insisted upon the reasonableness of the excuse I had alledged. They were pleased with the respectful modesty of my answer. I was determined in this resolution, not only because I found it agreeable to the inclinations of the senate, which indeed had great weight with me, but for many other, tho' less important considerations. I reflected, that our ancestors thought themselves obliged to engage voluntarily in defence of those particular persons, with whom they were

united by the laws ^a of hospitality, and that therefore it would be highly ungenerous to abandon a collective body, to whom I stood in the same relation. Besides, I considered the danger as well as the fatigue I went thro' in the last cause I undertook for this province, and I was unwilling to lose the merit of my former services, by denying them this. For such is the disposition of mankind, the favor you refuse, cancels all you have confer'd; and tho' you oblige them ever so often, they will forget a thousand compliances, and yet remember a single denial. I consider'd likewise, that Clasicus being dead, the great objection of exposing a senator, was remov'd; and that in undertaking this defence, I should merit the same thanks as if he were alive, without the hazard of giving any particular offence. In a word, I thought if I complied with their desires in this instance, I could with a better grace deny my assistance to them in any future cause, where I might have

(a) The observation of Eustathius upon the interview of Glau-
cus and Diomed in the 6th Iliad, cited by Mr. Pope in his
notes upon that place, will throw a light upon this passage,
which may be of service to the English reader. "The laws of
" hospitality (says he) were antiently held in great veneration.
" The friendship contracted thereby was so sacred,
" that they preferred it to all the bonds of consanguinity and
" alliance, and accounted it obligatory to the 3d and 4th ge-
" neration.—We see Diomed and Glaucus agreeing not to be
" enemies during the whole course of a war, only because their
" grandfathers had been mutual guests. — They preserved in
" their families the presents which had been made on these
" occasions, as obliged to transmit to their children the memo-
" rials of their right of hospitality."

have personal reasons for declining to be their coun-
sel. For all our offices have their limits; and the best
way of reserving to ourselves the liberty of refusing
where we wou'd, is to comply where we can.
Thus you have heard the motives of my conduct ;
it now remains that you give me your sentiments of
it ; which I shall receive with equal pleasure, either
as an instance of your sincerity, or a sanction to my
conduct. Farewel.

LETTER V. To MARCUS.

I Have the pleasure to find you are so great an ad-
mirer of my uncle's works, as to wish to have
a compleat collection of them ; and for that pur-
pose desire me to send you an account of all the
treatises he wrote. I will point them out to you in
the order in which they were composed ; for how-
ever immaterial *that* may seem, it is a sort of in-
formation not at all unacceptable to men of letters.
The first book he published, was, a treatise concern-
ing the *art of using the javelin on horseback* : this
he wrote when he commanded a troop of horse,
and it is drawn up with great exactness and judg-
ment. *The life of Pomponius Secundus*, in two vo-
lumes : Pomponius had a very great affection for
him, and he thought he owed this tribute to his
memory. *The history of the wars in Germany*, in

twenty books, in which he gave an account of all the battles we were engaged in against that nation. A dream which he had when he served in the army in Germany, first suggested to him the design of this work. He imagined that Drusus Nero (who extended his conquests very far into that country, and there lost his life) appeared to him in his sleep, and conjured him not to suffer his memory to be buried in oblivion. He has left us likewise a *treatise upon eloquence*, divided into six volumes. In this work he takes the orator from his cradle, and leads him on till he has carried him up to the highest point of perfection in this art. In the latter part of Nero's reign, when the tyranny of the times made it dangerous to engage in studies of a more free and elevated spirit, he published a piece of criticism in eight books, concerning ambiguity in expression. He has compleat-ed the history which Aufidius Bassus left unfinish-ed, and has added to it thirty books. And lastly, he has left thirty seven books upon the subject of natural history : this is a work of great compass and learning, and almost as full of variety as na-ture her self. You will wonder how a man so en-gaged as he was, could find time to compose such a number of books ; and some of them too upon abstruse subjects. But your surprize will rise still higher, when you hear, that for some time he en-gaged

gaged in the profession of an advocate, that he died in his fifty-sixth year, that from the time of his quitting the bar to his death he was employed in the execution of the highest posts, and in the service of his prince. But he had a quick apprehension, joined to unwearied application. In summer he always began his studies as soon as it was night ; in winter generally at one in the morning, but never later than two, and often at midnight. No man ever spent less time in bed, insomuch that he would sometimes, without retiring from his books, take a short sleep, and then pursue his studies. Before day-break he used to wait upon Vespasian ; who likewise chose that season to transact business. When he had finished the affairs which that emperor committed to his charge, he returned home again to his studies.

After

(a) The distribution of time among the Romans, was extremely different from the method in use amongst us. They measured the night into four equal parts, which they called *watches*, each containing the space of three hours; and part of these they devoted either to the pleasures of the table, or to study. The natural day they divided into twelve hours, the first beginning with sun-rise, and the last ending with sun-set ; by which means their hours were of unequal length, varying according to the different seasons of the year. The time for business began with sun-rise, and continued to the fifth hour, being that of dinner, which with them was only a slight repast. From thence to the seventh hour was a time of repose; a custom which still prevails in Italy. The eighth hour was employed in bodily exercises ; after which they constantly bathed, and from thence went to supper.

After a short and light repast at noon (agreeable to the good old custom of our ancestors) he would frequently in the summer, if he was disengaged from business, repose himself in the sun ; during which time some author was read to him, from whence he made extracts and observations, as indeed this was his constant method whatever book he read ; for it was a maxim of his, that “ no book was so bad, but something might be learned from it.” When this was over, he generally went into the cold bath, and as soon as he came out of it, just took a slight refreshment, and then reposed himself for a little while. Thus, as if it had been a new day, he immediately resumed his studies till supper-time, when a book was again read to him, upon which he would make some hasty remarks. I remember once his *Reader* having pronounced a word wrong, somebody at the table made him repeat it again ; upon which my uncle asked his friend if he understood it ? Who replying yes ; *why then*, said he, *would you make him go back again ? We have lost by this interruption above ten lines :* so covetous was this great man of time ! In summer he always rose from supper by day-light ; and in winter as soon as it was dark : and this was an invariable law with him. Such was his manner of life amidst the noise and hurry of the town : but in the country his whole time

time was devoted to study without intermission, except only when he bathed. But in this exception I include no more than the time he was actually in the bath ; for all the while he was rubbed and wiped, he was employed either in hearing some book read to him, or in dictating himself. In his journeys he lost no time from his studies, but his mind at those seasons being disengaged from all other thoughts, applied it self wholly to that single pursuit. A secretary ^b constantly attended him in his chariot, who, in the winter, wore a particular sort of warm gloves, that the sharpness of the weather might not occasion any interruption to his studies : and for the same reason my uncle always used a chair in Rome. I remember he once reproved me for walking : “ You might, says he, employ “ those hours to more advantage :” for he thought all was time lost, that was not given to study. By this extraordinary application he found time to write so many volumes, besides one hundred

(b) The word in the original, implies a person who wrote short-hand ; an art which the Romans carried to its highest perfection, as appears from the following epigram :

Current verba licet, manus est velocius illis ;

Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus.

Mart. 14. 208.

Swift tho' the words, (the pen still swifter sped)
The hand has finish'd, ere the tongue has said.

hundred and sixty which he left me, consisting of a kind of common-place, wrote on both sides, in a very small character ; so that one might fairly reckon the number considerably more. I have heard him say, when he was comptroller of the revenue in Spain, Largius Licinius offered him four hundred thousand ^c sesterces for these manuscripts ; and yet they were not then quite so numerous. When you reflect upon the books he has read, and the volumes he has wrote, are you not inclined to suspect that he never was engaged in the affairs of the public, or the service of his prince ? On the other hand, when you are informed how indefatigable he was in his studies, are not you disposed to wonder that he read and wrote no more ? For, on one side, what obstacles would not the business of a court throw in his way ? And on the other, what is it that such intense application might not perform ? I cannot but smile therefore when I hear my self called a studious man, who in comparison to him am a mere loiterer. But why do I mention my self, who am diverted from these pursuits, by numberless affairs both public and private ? Even they whose whole lives are engaged in study, must blush when placed in the same

(c) About 3200 l. of our money.

same view with him. —— I have run out my letter, I perceive, beyond the extent I at first designed, which was only to inform you, as you desired, what treatises he has left behind him. But I trust this will not be less acceptable to you than the books themselves, as it may possibly, not only raise your curiosity to read his works, but your emulation to copy his example, by some attempts of the same nature. Farewel.

LETTER VI. To SEVERUS.

I Have lately purchased with a legacy that was left me, a statue of Corinthian brass. It is small indeed, but well executed, at least if I have any judgment; which most certainly in matters of this sort, as perhaps in all others, is extremely defective. However, I think I have a taste to discover the beauties of this figure: as it is naked, the faults, if there be any, as well as the perfections are more observable. It represents an old man in a standing posture: The bones, the muscles, the veins, and wrinkles are so strongly expressed, that you would imagine the figure to be animated. The character is well preserv'd throughout every part of the body: the hair is thin and bald, the forehead broad, the face shrivel'd, the throat lank, the arms languid, the breast fallen, and the belly

belly sunk ; as the whole turn and air of the figure behind, is expressive of old age. It appears to be antique from the color of the brass. In short, it is a performance so highly finished as to merit the attention of the most curious, and to afford, at the same time, pleasure to the most common observer : and this induced me, who am a mere novice in this art, to buy it. But I did so, not with any intent of placing it in my own house, for I have yet nothing of that kind there; but with a design of fixing it in some conspicuous place in my native province; perhaps in the temple of Jupiter ; for it is a present well worthy of a temple and a god. I desire therefore you would, with that care which you always execute my requests, give immediate orders for a pedestal to be made for it. I leave the choice of the marble to you, but let my name be engraven upon it, and if you think proper my titles. I will send the statue by the first opportunity ; or possibly, which I am sure you will like better, I may bring it myself : for I intend, if I can find leisure, to make an excursion to you. This is a piece of news which I know you will rejoice to hear ; but you will soon change your countenance when I tell you, my visit will be only for a few days ; for the same busines that now detains me here, will prevent my making a longer stay. Farewel.

L E T-

LETTER VII. To CANINIUS.

I Am just now informed, that Silius Italicus has starved himself to death, at his villa near Naples. Having been afflicted with an imposthume, which was deem'd incurable, he grew weary of life under such uneasy circumstances, and therefore put an end to it, with the most determined courage. He had been extremely fortunate thro' the whole course of his life, excepting only the loss of his younger son ; however, that was made up to him in the satisfaction of seeing his eldest, who is of a more amiable character, attain the consular dignity, and of leaving him in a very flourishing situation. He suffer'd a little in his reputation in the time of Nero ; having been suspected of forwardly joining in some of the informations which were carried on in the reign of that prince ; but he made use of his interest in Vitellius, with great discretion and humanity. He acquir'd much honor by his administration of the government of Asia ; and by his approved behavior after his retirement from business, clear'd his character from that stain which his former intrigues had thrown upon it. - He lived among the nobility of Rome, without power, and consequently without envy ; highly respected, and much visited, meerly upon account of his merit ; for what other inducement could bring

bring company to a man, who frequently was confined to his bed, and always to his chamber? He employed his time between conversing with men of letters, and composing of verses; which he sometimes recited, in order to try the sentiments of the public; but he discovered in them more industry than genius. In the decline of his years he entirely quitted Rome, and lived altogether in Campania, from whence even the accession of the new ^a emperor could not draw him. A circumstance which I mention as well to the honor of the prince, who was not displeased with that liberty, as of Italicus, who was not afraid to make use of it. He was reproached with being fond of all the elegancies of the fine arts to a degree of excess. He had several villas in the same province, and the last purchase was always the chief favorite, to the neglect of the rest. They were all furnished with large collections of books, statues and pictures, which he more than enjoyed, he even adored; particularly that of Virgil, of whom he was so passionate an admirer, that he celebrated the anniversary of that poet's birth-day with more solemnity than his own; especially at Naples, where he used to approach ^b his tomb with

as

(a) Trajan.

(b) Travellers are still shewn a monument near Naples which is called Virgil's tomb. But Mr. Addison " thinks it is almost certain, that his tomb stood on the other side of the town, which looks towards mount Vesuvio". Addison's Travels,

p. 164,

as much reverence as if it had been a temple. In this tranquillity he lived to the seventy fifth year of his age, with a delicate, rather than a sickly constitution. It is remarkable, that as he was the last person upon whom Nero conferred the consular office (that prince being killed during his consulship) so he was the last also that survived of all those who had been raised by him to that dignity. When I consider this, I cannot forbear lamenting the transitory condition of mankind. Is there any thing in nature so short and limited as human life, even in its most extended period ? Does it not seem to you, my friend, but yesterday, that Nero was upon the throne ? and yet not one of all those who were consuls in his reign now remains ! But why should I wonder at an event so common ? Lucius Piso (the father of that Piso who was infamously assassinated by Valerius Festus in Africa) used to say, he did not see one person in the ^a senate who sat in that house when he was consul : such multitudes are swept away in so short a space ! I am therefore so far from thinking those tears of Xerxes need any

K apology,

p. 164. Mabillon, in his Mus. Ital. p. 112, says, the following epitaph was dug up there :

Sistite viatores quæso, pauca legit: Hic sicutus est Maro!

Stay Travellers, I beg, and read this short Inscription :
Here lies Maro !

(d) The Number of senators, as reduced by Augustus, was 600.

apology, that in my judgment history does honor to his character, which informs us, that when this prince had attentively surveyed his immense army, he could not refrain from weeping, with the thought that so many thousand lives would so soon be extinct. The more ardent therefore should our zeal be to lengthen out this short portion of existence, by acquisitions of glory, if not in the active scenes of life (which is not always in our own power) yet however in those of study and contemplation ; and since it is not granted us to live long, let us transmit to posterity some memorial that we have at least LIVED. I well know, you want not any incitement to virtue ; but the warmth of my affection for you, inclines me to forward you in the course you already pursue ; as I have often found myself encouraged by your generous exhortations. How glorious is the contention, when two friends thus strive who shall animate each other most in their pursuits of immortal fame ! Farewel.

LETTER VIII. To TRANQUILLUS.

TH E obliging manner in which you desire me to confer the ^a military tribunate upon your relation, which I had obtained of the ^b most illustrious

(a) See B. 4. Let. 4. in note.

(b) This was a title given to all senators, in the times of the latter emperors.

strious Neratius Marcellus for yourself, is agreeable to that respect with which you always treat me. As it would have given me great pleasure to have seen you in that post, so it will not be less acceptable to me to have it bestowed upon one whom you recommend. For hardly, I think, would it be consistent to wish a man advanced to honors, and yet envy him a title far nobler than any other he can receive, even that of a generous and an affectionate relation. To deserve and to grant favors, is the fairest point of view in which we can be placed ; and this amiable character will be yours, if you resign to your friend, what is due to your own merit. I must acknowledge at the same time, I am by this means advancing my own reputation, as the world will learn from hence, that my friends not only have it in their power to enjoy such an honorable post, but to *dispose* of it. I readily therefore comply with your generous request; and as your name is not yet entered upon the roll, I can without difficulty insert Silvanus's in its stead : and may he accept this good office at your hands with the same grateful disposition that I am sure you will receive mine. Farewel.

LETTER IX. To MINUTIANUS.

I Am now at leisure to inform you of the great fatigue I underwent in defence of the province of Bœtica ; a cause which turned upon a variety of facts, and took up several days. Cæcilius Claf-sicus was governor of Bœtica the year that Marius Priscus enjoyed the same honor in Africa. Cæci-lius was a man of a base abandoned character, and had exercised his authority with great violence and oppression. He was a native of Africa, as Priscus was of Bœtica ; in allusion to which these people used archly enough to say, (as resentment often gives a certain agreeable sprightliness) *we are paid in our own coin*^a. The only difference between them was, that Marius was prosecuted by a single city,

and

(a) This seems to be one of those passages to which it is impossible not only for a translator to do justice ; but, perhaps, even for the most skilful in the original language to enter into its true spirit. The expression in its primary sense, implies no more than this : “ I have received a misfortune and return’d “ it.” (*Dedi malum & accepi*;) in which there does not appear the least air of wit or raillery. An instance of the same kind occurs in B. 4. Let. 11. where our author commends a sarcasm of Valerius Licianus, as the most severe and spirited imaginable ; when yet there seems to be little in it to deserve that character. In both cases it is highly probable, that the force of the raillery consisted either in some allusion, which we cannot discover at this distance ; or the words themselves, perhaps, might, by some double meaning, carry a sense when they were spoken, which is now lost. Nor is to be wonder’d

we

and several private persons ; whereas the charge against Classicus was brought by the whole province of Boetica. He escaped, however, the consequences of this impeachment, either by an accidental or voluntary death, I know not which. It is certain at least, the world threw upon him the imputation of the latter ; tho' I must confess that point is to me extremely doubtful : for as on the one hand, it is in general reasonable to suppose, that any man should rather choose to die, than be arraigned of a crime which he could not clear himself of ; so on the other, it is surprizing, that he who was not ashamed, to commit so base an action, should yet have courage enough to prefer death, to the disgrace of a public conviction. Nevertheless, the Boetici persisted in going on with the prosecution. This privilege which the laws admit of, was now, after long disuse, revived in the present instance. They went farther, and insisted that his accomplices should likewise be proceeded against at the same time. I was counsel for the province, together with Lucceius Albinus, who was joined with me.

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we should be under a difficulty of this kind, when the Romans themselves, as Quintilian informs us, were, even in his time, at a loss to discover the true humor of several of Cicero's occasional *Bonis Mots*, in that collection of them which were then extant ; and that penetrating critic assures us, that tho' many had endeavored to clear up and explain the force and propriety of them, the attempt had always proved unsuccessful. Quint. l. 6. c. 3.

He is a copious and elegant orator; and tho' I always loved him, yet being associated with him in this cause, has considerably heightned my affection for him. There is something in the pursuit of fame, especially of the eloquent kind, that is selfish, unsociable, and jealous of participation; but there was no rivalship between us, and we united our joint efforts in the management of this cause, without giving into any separate or private views of our own. We thought the point in question was of too much importance, and of too complicated a nature, for each of us to be limited to a single speech. We were apprehensive we should neither have strength, nor time, to make good our charge against so many parties, if we comprized them all under one general accusation. Such a variety of persons and facts would be apt to confound, as well as weary, the attention of the judges. Besides, in that collective way of proceeding, either the interest of some might prove a protection to all the rest; or the most inconsiderable of the party might be sacrificed to the justice of their country, in order to favor the escape of those of a more conspicuous rank: for partiality never exerts itself with more success, than when it is concealed under the specious appearance of severity. We remembered the advice of Sertorius, who directed the strongest soldier to tear off the horse's tail at once, and the we akeft.

weakest to pull it off hair by hair.—But you know the^a story. In the same manner we thought we had no other way to cope with such a numerous troop of criminals, but by attacking them singly. Our first and principal point was to prove Clafficus guilty, which would prepare the way to his accomplices; for till that was done, it would not be possible to fix any thing upon them. Amongst these we singled out Bæbius Probus, and Fabius Hispanus, whom we thought proper to join with Clafficus: these persons were considerable by their interest, and Hispanus in particular by his eloquence. There was no difficulty in proving the charge against Clafficus, for there was found among his papers an account under his own hand of the several sums he had taken, and upon what occasions. A letter was also produced which he sent to one

(a) The story, as related by Valerius Maximus, is to this purpose: Sertorius being proscribed by Sylla, put himself at the head of the Lusitani. These people, upon a certain occasion, were for attacking at once the whole Roman army, greatly superior to them in numbers. Sertorius endeavored to dissuade them, by all the arguments in his power, from so rash a purpose; but finding his oratory prevailed nothing, he ordered two horses to be brought before him, and calling a young lusty soldier, and a worn-out veteran, he directed the former to pull off the horse's tail at once, and the other by degrees. The consequence was, the young man exerted all his strength in vain, while the old fellow performed his task. Thus, says my author, these rude ungovernable people, who were running headlong to their destruction, were convinced by this visible representation, of the justness of that advice, which had no influence upon them in the way of reasoning. Val. Max. l. 7. c. 6.

of his mistresses at Rome, wherein he expresses himself in these words: *Rejoice with me, for I am preparing to return to you ; and in such a manner as to have nothing to fear from my creditors, having raised four millions^b of sesterces upon the Baeticians.* But it cost us much time and pains to make good the articles against Hispanus and Probus. Before I came to the particular crimes alledged against them, I thought it extremely necessary to prove, that to be the agents and ministers of a governor in matters manifestly unjust, was in itself criminal. For they did not pretend to deny the fact, but pleaded in their excuse, that they were officers under Clasicus, and therefore obliged to obey his orders. Claudio Restitutus, who was counsel on their side, assured me, he never was more perplexed and confounded than when he perceived I had seized this post, in which he had placed all his strength and confidence ; tho' no man is more expert and vigilant in his profession, or more prepared against a surprize. The senate decreed, that an account should be taken of what effects Clasicus was possessed of before he went into his government, which should be given to his daughter, and directed the overplus to be divided among the unhappy sufferers. The decree added farther, that

his

(b) About 32,000 l. of our money.

his creditors should refund whatever monies they had received since his return. Hispanus and Probus were sentenced to be banished for five years : So very atrocious did that conduct now appear, which seemed at first to be doubted whether it was criminal or not. A few days afterwards we proceeded against Clavius Fuscus, who married the daughter of Clasicus, and Stillonius Priscus, who commanded a troop under him ; but with very different success : for Fuscus was acquitted, and Priscus banished Italy for two years. The third hearing, we thought it advisable to join several accomplices in one general charge, lest by protracting this affair any longer, even justice herself should be quite spent and worn^t out. We had indeed, designedly reserved the most inconsiderable of the persons concerned to this day ; the wife of Clasicus only excepted, against whom, tho' there was strong suspicion, the proofs were by no means thought clear : as to his daughter, who was likewise in the number of the accused, there was not the least ground to charge any thing upon her. When therefore in the conclusion of the pleadings I was to take notice of her, I thought it would ill become me to bear hard upon one who appeared to be innocent ; and therefore I spoke very fully and freely in her favor, as there was now no danger

danger that this would take off from the weight of the accusation, as it might have done if I had mentioned it in the out-set of the cause. I addressed my self to the deputies, and desired they would tell me if they had any thing to alledge against her, which they thought they could prove ; and appealed to the senate whether I ought to employ my eloquence, if in truth I had any, to the destruction of the innocent : and I concluded with saying, *but perhaps I shall be asked, if I take upon my self to act as judge ? By no means, I consider myself however as an advocate chosen out from amidst that venerable body.*

Thus ended this cause, in which so many parties were concerned, some of whom were acquitted, but the greater number condemned, either to perpetual banishment, or for a limited time. The senate were pleased in the same decree to honor us with a very ample testimony in our favor, by expressing their approbation of our diligent, faithful, and resolute behavior in the management of this trial: the only reward equal to so laborious a task. You will easily conceive the fatigue we underwent in speaking and debating so long and so often, and in examining, assisting, and confuting such a number of witnesses ; as well as what a difficult and disagreeable task we had, to withstand the private solicitations, and public opposition

position of the friends of the accused. To give you an instance: one of the judges themselves, who thought I pressed too hard upon a party whom he favored, could not forbear interrupting me; *Give me leave, said I, to go on; for when I have said all I can, he will still be as innocent, as he was before.* From hence you will collect what a scene of contention I went thro', and what enemies I brought upon my self. However it was but for a season. For tho' honesty may, for the time, offend those it opposes; yet it will at last be justified and admired, even by the very persons who suffer from it.

Thus I have laid before you, in the clearest manner I am able, the whole transaction. You will regret, perhaps, the reading so long a letter, and tell me it was scarce worth the trouble. Ask me then no more what is doing at Rome; and remember, in my excuse, that considering the time this trial took up, the great number of the persons concerned, and the several proceedings against them, my letter is of no unreasonable length; and I really think I have related the whole with as much brevity as exactness. — But upon recollection I find I must recall that last word; for I perceive, a little too late indeed, that I have omitted a material circumstance. However, I will mention it here, tho' something out of its place. In this I

have

have the authority of Homer, and several other great names to keep me in countenance ; and the critics will tell you this irregular manner has its beauties ; but upon my word, it is a beauty I had not at all in my view. One of the witnesses, whether in resentment that he was summoned contrary to his inclination, or that he was suborned by some of the parties accused to weaken the credit of the charge, desired leave to exhibit articles against Norbanus Licinianus, one of the deputies and a commissioner appointed to carry on the present prosecution, alledging, that he had ^a prevaricated in his charge against Casta, the wife of Claffictus. The laws direct, that the party accused shall be first proceeded against, before any information shall be received to the prejudice of the person who brings the charge ; because, how far he is to be credited will best appear from the accusation itself. But so extremely odious was Norbanus, that neither the authority of the laws, nor a regard to his public function, could protect him. He was a man of an infamous character, who, like many others, had used his interest with Domitian to very vile purposes. He was appointed one of the commissioners by the province to manage this trial, not because they had any opinion of his integrity, but as being

(a) A prevaricator is defined by Civilians, to be one that betrays the cause to the adversary, and turns on the criminal's side whom he ought to prosecute.

being a declared enemy to Clässicus, by whom he had been banished. Norbanus desired he might have time allowed him for his defence, and a copy of the articles of his accusation. Both which were refused him, and he was ordered to answer immediately to the charge. He did so; and when I consider his character, I know not whether I should say with great impudence, or great courage, but undoubtedly with great readiness. There were many things alledged against him, much more to his disadvantage than the crime with which he was particularly charged. Among the rest, Pomponius Rufus, and Libo Frugi, persons of consular dignity, deposed, that he was counsel, in the reign of Domitian, for those infamous wretches who had inform'd against Salvius Liberalis. In short, Norbanus was condemned and banished. When therefore I came to speak against Casta, I insisted singly upon this sentence against Norbanus. But I urged this to little purpose; for by a very new, and indeed a contradictory way of proceeding, the person accused was acquitted, while he who had entered into this combination in her favor, was condemned. You will be curious to be informed how we, who were counsel against her, acted in this extraordinary conjuncture. We acquainted the senate, that as we had received all our instructions from Norbanus, we could not, if

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he should be convicted of collusion with this woman, proceed without new ones. After this, during all his trial, we sat down, without intermeddling in the affair. Norbanus, after his conviction, continued present throughout the whole proceedings, and preserved the same resolution, or impudence to the last. And here, upon reviewing my letter I find I have been guilty of another omission. I should have told you, that Salvius Liberalis inveighed strongly against the rest of the deputies, insisting, that they had betrayed the trust reposed in them by the province, and had not brought to justice all the parties they were directed to prosecute. As he is a man of great warmth of temper and much eloquence, they were really in some danger. But I took those worthy persons under my protection, and they are so grateful as to acknowledge I saved them from the storm with which they were threatened. And now, my friend, I will put an end to my letter in good earnest; and will not detain you with adding a syllable more, even tho' I should find some circumstances have still escaped me. Farewel.

LETTER X. To SPURINNA and COCCIA.

I Did not, it is true, acquaint you, at my last visit, that I had composed something in praise of your son; because it was not wrote for the sake of ostentation, but merely as a private tribute of affection to his memory, and as a consolation to me in my concern for the loss of him. Besides, my dear Spurinna, as you told me you heard I had recited, I imagined you were informed at the same time of the subject; and I was unwilling to cast a gloom upon your chearfulness in that season of gayety in which I found you, by recalling to your remembrance so severe a misfortune. I have even still some doubt, whether I should only send you what I then recited, or join with it what I design for another essay: for a single tract was not only insufficient to give due scope to the sentiments of my heart, and to comprise the full offerings I would pay to one whose memory I so infinitely love and honor; but it seemed also more for the interest of his fame, to have it thus spread by separate pieces. But the consideration, that it will be treating you with a more friendly openness to transmit to you the whole now, rather than reserve part of it to another time, has determined me to

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(a) Spurinna's wife.

do so ; especially as you have assured me you will not part with it out of your hands, till I think proper to send it abroad. I beg you would give me an instance of the same unreserved freedom, by pointing out to me what you shall judge would be best altered, omitted, or added. It is difficult (and I know it by what I feel myself) for a mind in affliction to attend to such little cares ; however, as you would direct a painter or statuary who was representing the figure of your son, what parts he should retouch or express, so I hope you will guide and inform my hand in this more durable, or (as you are pleased to think it) this immortal picture of his mind, which I am endeavoring to draw : for the nearer it resembles the original, and the more finished it shall be, so much the more lasting it is likely to prove. Farewel.

LETTER XI. To JULIUS GENITOR.

IT is the generous disposition of Artemidorus to heighten the good offices of his friends ; and in that light you must look upon those strong professions he makes of his obligations to me. It is true, indeed, when the philosophers were expelled ^(a) from the city of Rome,

(a) Domitian banished the philosophers not only from Rome but Italy, as Suetonius and A. Gellius inform us : among these was the celebrated Epictetus.

Rome, I went to see him at his house near the city, and I ran the greater hazard in paying him that visit, as I was at that time *Prætor*. I likewise supplied him with a considerable sum of money, to discharge some debts he had contracted upon very glorious occasions, tho' I was obliged to borrow it myself; while his other friends, who both in power and fortune were capable of assisting him, stood calmly at a distance without contributing any relief to his distress. This I did under the discouraging instance before my eyes of the sufferings of seven of my friends: *Senecio, Rusticus, and Helvidius* were just then put to death, at the same time that *Mauricus, Gratilla, Arria, and Fannia* were sent into exile. And scorched as I was with the lightening of the state, which thus flashed round me, I had great reason to expect it would not be long before it destroyed me too. But I do not esteem myself upon that account, as meriting the high encomiums my friend bestows upon me: all I pretend to is, that I was not guilty of the infamous meanness of abandoning him in his misfortunes. I had, as far as the difference of our ages would admit, a friendship for his father-in-law *Musonius*, whom I both loved and esteemed. *Artemidorus* himself I made acquaintance with when I was military tribune in Syria, where I entered into the strictest intimacy with him. And I value myself upon

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having given this first mark of something right in my disposition, that I so early discover'd the merit of this amiable man, who if he is not a philosopher, exceedingly resembles one; I am sure at least, of all those who take upon themselves that title, I know none of a more sincere and unaffected integrity. I forbear to mention how patient he is of heat and cold, how indefatigable in labor, how abstemious in the pleasures of the table, and how absolutely he restrains all his appetites; for these qualities, considerable as they would certainly be in any other character, are rendered less conspicuous in him, by the superior lustre of those more extraordinary virtues which recommended him to Musonius for a son-in-law, in preference to so many others of all ranks who paid their addresses to his daughter. I cannot therefore but be highly sensible of the advantageous terms in which he speaks of me to every body, and particularly to you. But I am apprehensive (to return to the observation with which I set out) that the warmth of his generous benevolence may carry him beyond the bounds I deserve: for he, who is so free from all other errors, is extremely apt to fall into this good-natur'd one, of over-rating the merit of his friends. Farewel.

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LETTER XII. To CATILIUS.

I Accept of your invitation to supper ; but I must make this agreement before-hand, that you dismiss me soon, and treat me frugally. Let our entertainment abound only in philosophical conversation ; and even that too with moderation. There are certain midnight parties, which Cato himself could not safely fall in with ; tho' I must confess at the same time, that J. Cæsar^a, when he reproaches him upon that head, exalts the character he endeavors to expose : for he describes those persons who met this reeling patriot, as blushing when they discovered who he was ; and adds, *you would have thought that Cato had detected them, and not they Cato.* Could he place the dignity of Cato in a stronger light, than by representing him thus venerable even in his cups ? As for ourselves nevertheless, let temperance not only spread our table, but regulate our hours ; for we are not arrived at so high a reputation, that our enemies cannot censure us but to our honor. Farewel.

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(a) Julius Cæsar wrote an invective against Cato of Utica, to which, it is probable, Pliny here alludes.

LETTER XIII. To ROMANUS.

I Have sent you, as you desired, the panegyric I spoke in my late consulship in honor of our most excellent ^a emperor ; and I intended to have done so, tho' you had not requested it. I could wish when you peruse it, you would consider the difficulty, as well as the dignity of the subject. In other compositions, where the reader is not acquainted with the subject, the novelty of it engages his chief attention ; but in a topic so known and exhausted as this, he has nothing to divert him from considering the stile and manner of his author, which he is at full leisure to contemplate : and the writer has a hard task to please his readers, when the whole force of their criticism is directed to that single point. But I should be glad they would have in view the disposition, the figures, and connections I have observed in this discourse. A strong imagination, and pompous expression will sometimes break out in the most unpolished writer ; but regularity in the plan of a work, and propriety in the figures, is the distinguishing mark and particular privilege of an improved genius. The shining and the elevated is not always to be pursued. As shades in a picture shew the luminous parts to more advantage,

(a) Trajan.

vantage, so the plain and simple in writing recommends and heightens the sublime. But I forget that I am talking to one who is so compleat a judge in these matters: I should rather beg of you to point out to me what you shall think requires correction: for if I find you dislike some parts, I shall be more inclined to believe you approve of the rest: Farewel,

LETTER XIV. To ACILIUS.

THE horrid barbarity which the slaves of Largius Macedo, a person of Praetorian rank, lately exercised upon their master, is so extremely tragical, that it deserves to be the subject of something more considerable than a private letter; tho' at the same time it must be acknowledged, there was a haughtiness and severity in his treatment of them, which shew'd him little mindful that his own father was once in the same station. They surrounded him as he was bathing, at his villa near Formiae, and some beat him about the face and head, while others trampled upon his breast, his belly, and his privy parts: when they imagined they had thus completed their intentions, they threw him upon the burning pavement of the hot bath, to try if there was any remaining life

left in him. He lay there stretched out, and motionless, either as really senseless, or counterfeiting to be so ; upon which they concluded him actually dead. In this condition they brought him out, pretending that he had fainted away by the heat of the bath. Some of his more trusty servants received him, and the alarm being spread thro' the family, his mistresses ran to him with the most violent shrieks. The noise of their cries, together with the fresh air, brought him a little to himself, and he gave signs (as he now safely might) that he was not quite dead. The murderers immediately made their escape ; but the greater part of them are taken, and they are in pursuit of the rest. By proper application he was, with great difficulty, kept alive for a few days, and then expired ; having however the satisfaction before he died of seeing just vengeance inflicted on his assassins. Thus you see to what indignities, outrages, and dangers, we are exposed. Lenity and good treatment is no security from the villainies of your servants ; for it is malice, and not reflection that arms such ruffians against their masters.—So much for this piece of news : and now, I think, I am exhausted. But you will be apt, I imagine, to ask, “is this all?” In truth it is ; otherwise, you should have it ; for my paper and my time too, (as it is holy-day with me,) will allow me to add more. Upon recollection however, I can tell
you

you one farther circumstance relating to Macedo, which just now occurs to me. As he was once in a public bath at Rome, a remarkable, (and as it should seem by the manner of his death) an ominous accident happened to him. A slave of Macedo's, in order to make way for his master, laid his hand gently upon a Roman knight, who suddenly turning round, by mistake gave Macedo so violent a blow, that he almost knock'd him down. Thus the bath seems to have been fatal to him by a kind of gradation ; for first he received an indignity, and afterwards lost his life there. Farewel.

LETTER XV. To PROCULUS.

YOU desire me to read your poems in my retirement, and to examine whether they are fit for public view ; and after requesting me to turn some of my leisure hours from my own studies to yours, you remind me that Tully was remarkable for his generous encouragement and patronage of poetical geniuses. But you did not do me justice, if you supposed I wanted either intreaty or example upon this occasion, who not only honor the muses with the most religious regard, but have also the warmest friendship for yourself : I shall therefore do what you require, with as much pleasure as care. I believe I may venture to declare

before-hand, that your performance is extremely beautiful; and ought by no means to be suppress'd; at least that was my opinion when I heard you recite it: if indeed your manner did not impose upon me; for the skill and harmony of your elocution is certainly enchanting. I trust however, the charming cadence did not entirely overcome the force of my criticism; it might possibly a little soften its severity, but could not totally, I imagine disarm me of it. I think therefore I may now safely pronounce my opinion of your poems in general: what they are in their several parts, I shall judge when I read them. Farewel.

LETTER XVI. To NEPOS.

I Have frequently observed, that amongst the noble actions and remarkable sayings of distinguished persons in either sex, those which have been most celebrated have not always been the most illustrious; and I am confirmed in this opinion, by a conversation I had yesterday with Fannia. This lady is grand-daughter to that celebrated Arria, who animated her husband to meet death, by her own glorious example. She informed me of several particulars relating to Arria, not less heroical than this famous action of hers, tho' less taken notice of; which I am persuaded you

you will read with the same admiration that I heard them. Her husband Cæcinna Pætus, and her son, were both attack'd with a dangerous illness at the same time, of which the son died. This youth, who had a most beautiful person and amiable behavior, was not less endear'd to his parents by his virtues than by the ties of affection. His mother managed his funeral so privately, that Pætus did not know he was dead. Whenever she came into his bed-chamber, she pretended her son was better: and as often as he enquir'd after his health, would answer that he had rested well, or had eat with an appetite. When she found she could no longer restrain her grief, but her tears were gushing out, she would leave the room, and having given vent to her passion, return again with dry eyes and a serene countenance, as if she had dismissed every sentiment of sorrow at her entrance. The ^a action was,

(a) The story, as mentioned by several of the antient historians, is to this purpose: Pætus having joined Scribonianus, who was in arms in Illyria against Claudius, was taken after the death of the latter, and condemned to death. Arria, having in vain solicited his life, persuaded him to destroy himself, rather than suffer the ignominy of falling by the executioner's hands; and in order to encourage him to an act, to which it seems he was not much inclined, she set him the example in the manner Pliny relates.

" In a pleasure-house belonging to the *Villa Ludovisa* at Rome " there is a fine statue representing this action: Pætus is stabbing " himself with one hand, and holds up the dying Arria with the " other. Her sinking body hangs so loose, as if every joint were " relaxed."

was, no doubt, truely noble, when drawing the dagger she plunged it in her breast, and then presented it to her husband with that ever memorable, I had almost said, that divine expression, *Pætus, it is not painful.* It must however be consider'd, when she spoke and acted thus, she had the prospect of immortal glory before her eyes to encourage and support her. But was it not something much greater, without the view of such powerful motives, to hide her fears, to conceal her grief, and chearfully seem the mother when she was so no more?—Scribonianus had taken up arms in Illyria against Claudius, where having lost his life, Pætus, who was of his party, was brought prisoner to Rome. When they were going to put him on board-a-ship, Arria besought the soldiers that she might be permitted to go with him : Certainly, said she, *you cannot refuse a man of consular dignity, as he is, a few slaves to wait upon him ; but if you will take me, I alone will perform their office.* This favor, however, she could not obtain ; upon which

she
“ relaxed.” Wright’s Travels, p. 334. Martial also has celebrated this heroic action in a famous epigram :

*Casta suo gladium cum tradiceret Arria Pæto,
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis ;
Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet, inquit,
Sed quod tu facies, hoc mibi, Pæte, dolet.*

When from her breast, chaste Arria snatch’d the sword,
And gave the deathfull weapon to her lord,
My wound, she said, believe me, does not smart ;
’Tis thine alone, my Pætus, pains my heart.

she hired a small fishing-vessel, and boldly ventur'd to follow the ship. At her return to Roine, she met the wife of Scribonianus in the emperor's palace, who pressing her to discover all she knew of that insurrection, *What!* said she, *shall I regard thy advice, who saw thy husband murdered even in thy very arms, and yet survivest him?* An expression which plainly shews, that the noble manner in which she put an end to her life, was no unpremeditated effect of sudden passion. When Thrasea, who married her daughter, was dissuading her from her purpose of destroying herself, and among other arguments which he used, said to her, *Would you then advise your daughter to die with me, if my life were to be taken from me?* Most certainly I would, she replied, *if she had lived as long and in as much harmony with you, as I have with my Pætus.* This answer greatly heighten'd the alarm of her family, and made them observe her for the future more narrowly; which, when she perceived, she assured them, all their caution would be to no purpose. *You may oblige me,* said she, *to execute my resolution in a way that will give me more pain, but it is impossible you should prevent it.* She had scarce said this, when she sprang from her chair, and running her head with the utmost violence against the wall, she fell down, in appearance dead. But being brought to her self, *I told you,* said she,

if you would not suffer me to take the easy paths to death, I should make my way to it thro' some more difficult passage. Now, is there not, my friend, something much greater in all this, than the so-much-talk'd-of, Pætus, it is not painful? to which, indeed, it seems to have led the way: and yet this last is the favorite topic of fame, while all the former are passed over in profound silence. Whence I cannot but infer, what I observed in the beginning of my letter, that the most famous actions are not always the most noble. Farewel.

LETTER XVII. To SERVIANUS.

TO what shall I attribute your long silence? Is it want of health, or want of leisure that prevents your writing? Or is it, perhaps, that you have no opportunity of conveying your letters? Free me, I intreat you, from the perplexity of these doubts; for they are more, be assured, than I am able to support; and do so, even tho' it is at the expence of an express messenger: I will gladly bear his charges; and even reward him too, should he bring me the news I wish. — As for my self, I am well, if that, with any propriety, can be said of a man, who lives in the utmost suspense and anxiety, under the apprehension of all the accidents

cidents that can possibly befall the friend he most tenderly loves. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII. To SEVERUS.

I Was obliged by my consular office to compliment the emperor^a in the name of the republic; but after I had performed that office in the senate in the usual manner, and as fully as the time and place would allow, I thought it agreeable to the affection of a good subject, to enlarge those general heads, and extend them into a compleat discourse. My principal view in doing so, was, to confirm the emperor in his virtues, by paying that tribute of applause to them which they so justly deserve; and at the same time to direct future princes, not in the formal way of lecture, but by *his* more engaging example, to those paths they must pursue, if they would attain the same heights of glory. To instruct princes how to form their conduct, is a noble, but difficult task, and may, perhaps, be esteemed a presumption: but to applaud the character of an accomplished emperor, and to hold him out to posterity, as a light to guide succeeding monarchs, is a method equally useful, and much more modest. It afforded me a very singular pleasure when I recited this panegyric, that my friends

(a) Trajan.

friends gave me their company, tho' I did not solicit them in the usual form of circular billets, but only desired their attendance, if it would be agreeable to them, and they were entirely disengaged. You know the excuses which are generally made at Rome to avoid invitations of this kind; yet, tho' the weather proved extremely bad at that time, they attended the recital for two days together; and when I thought it would be unreasonable to detain them any longer, they insisted upon my going thro' with it the next day. Shall I consider this as an honor done to my self, or to polite literature? Rather let me suppose to the latter, which tho' well-nigh extinct, seems to be now again reviving among us. Yet what was the subject to which all this affiduity was paid? No other than what formerly, even in the senate, where we were obliged to submit to it, we could not endure to hear, tho' but for a few moments. But now, you see, we have patience to recite and attend to a topic of the same nature for three days together; and the reason of the difference is, not that we have more eloquence, but more liberty than formerly, and consequently write with more spirit. It is an additional honor therefore to our present emperor, that these sort of harangues, which were once as odious as they were false, are now as pleasing as they are sincere. But it was not only the earnest

attention

attention of my audience which afforded me pleasure ; I was greatly delighted too with the justness of their taste ; for I observed, that the more nervous parts of my discourse gave them much satisfaction. It is true, indeed, this work, which was wrote for the perusal of the world in general, was read only to a few ; however, I would willingly look upon their particular judgment as an earnest of that of the public, and rejoice at their manly taste as if it were universally spread. It was in eloquence as in music, the vitiated ears of the audience introduced a depraved stile ; but now, I am inclined to hope, as a more refined judgment prevails in the public, our compositions of both kinds will improve too ; for those authors, whose only view is to please, will form their works upon the general taste of the people. I imagine, however, in subjects of this nature the florid stile is most proper ; and am so far from thinking that the gay coloring I have used, will be esteemed foreign and unnatural, that I am most apprehensive that censure will fall upon those parts where I have been most plain and unornamented. Nevertheless I sincerely wish the time may come (and would to heaven it now were !) when the smooth and luscious manner which has infected our stile, shall give place, as it ought, to severe and chaste composition.—Thus I have given you an account how I have been employed these last

last three days, that your absence might not entirely deprive you of a pleasure, which, from your friendship to me, and the part you take in every thing that concerns the interest of learning, I know you would have received, if you had been present.
Farewel.

LETTER XIX. To CALVISIUS RUFUS.

I Must have recourse to you, as usual, in an affair which concerns my finances. An estate is offered to be sold which lies contiguous to mine, and indeed is intermixed with it. There are several circumstances which strongly incline me to this purchase, as there are others no less weighty which deter me from it. The first recommendation it has, is, the agreeableness of its joining to me ; the next, the advantage as well as the pleasure of being able to visit it under one trouble and expence ; to have it look'd after by the same steward, and cultivated almost by the same husbandmen ; and to have only one villa to maintain, as it will be sufficient to keep up the other just in common repair. I take into this account furniture, house-keepers, gardeners, artificers, and all the apparatus that relates to the game, as it saves a very considerable expence when you are not obliged to keep them at more houses than one. On the other hand, I don't know whe-

whether it is prudent to venture so much of one's property under the same climate, and to the same casualties; it seems a more sure method of guarding against the caprices of fortune, to distribute one's possessions into different situations: besides, there is something extremely amusing in shifting the scene, and travelling from one estate to another. But to mention the point of principal difficulty: the lands are rich, fertile, and well water'd, consisting chiefly of meadow-grounds, vineyards, and woods, the produce of which, tho' it is not very great, or very profitable, yet seldom fails: but then, to balance the advantages of soil, the present tenants have been extremely oppressed. The person who was last in possession used frequently to seize and sell their stock, by which means, tho' he lessened the debt for the present, yet in the event he greatly impoverished the estate, and the consequence was, that they were again in arrears. I shall be obliged therefore to furnish these honest farmers with a new supply of hands for tillage, which I must be at the expence of buying, as there are none left upon the estate, neither have I any bond-slaves of my own. And now it remains only to inform you of the price, which is three

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mil-

(a) The Romans used to employ their criminals in the lower offices of husbandry, such as ploughing, &c. Plin. H. N. l. 18. 3.

millions^b of festerces. It has been formerly sold for five^c millions, but partly by the general calamity of the times, and partly by its being thus stripped of laborers, the income of this estate is reduced, and consequently its value. You will be inclined, perhaps, to enquire whether I can easily raise the purchase-money? It is true, indeed, my estate is chiefly in land, tho' I have some money placed out at interest; but I can without difficulty borrow any sum I have occasion for. I have always a sure resource in the purse of my wife's mother, which I can use with the same freedom as my own, so that you need not give your self any trouble as to that article, if you should have no other objections; which I beg you would very maturely consider, for as in every thing else, so particularly in matters of economy, no man has more judgment and experience than your self. Farewel,

LETTER XX. To MAXIMUS.

YOU remember, no doubt, to have read what commotions were occasioned by the law which directs that the^d election of magistrates

(b) About 24,216 l. of our money.

(c) About 40,360 l. of our money.

(d) The author of this law, was one Gabinius, a tribune of the people, A. U. 614. It gave a very considerable blow to the influence of the nobility, as in this way of balloting, it could

strates shall be by balloting, and how much the author of it was both approved and condemned. Yet this very law the senate lately unanimously received, and upon the election-day, with one consent, called for the ballots. It must be owned, the method by open votes had introduced into the senate more riot and disorder than is seen even in the assemblies of the people; all order in speaking, all decency of silence, all dignity of character was broke thro'; and it was universal dissonance and clamor: here, the several candidates running from side to side with their patrons; there, a troop collected together in the middle of the senate-house; and, in short, the whole assembly divided into separate parties, created the most indecent confusion. Thus widely had we departed from the manners of our ancestors, who conducted these elections with a calmness and regularity suitable to the reverence which is due to the majesty of the senate. I have been informed by some who remember those times, that the method observed in their assemblies was this: the name of the person who offered himself for any office being called over, a profound silence ensued, when immediately the candidate appeared, who after he

M 2

had

could not be discovered on which side the people gave their votes, and consequently took off that restraint they before lay under, by the fear of offending their superiors.

had spoken for himself, and given an account to the senate of his life and manners, called witnesses in support and approbation of his character. These were, either the person under whom he had served in the army, or to whom he had been Quæstor, or both, (if the case admitted of it) to whom he also joined some of those friends who espoused his interest. They delivered what they had to say in his favor, in few words, but with great dignity ; and this had far more influence than the modern method of humble solicitation. Sometimes the candidate would object either to the birth, or age, or character of his competitor ; to which the senate would listen with a severe and impartial attention : and thus was merit generally preferred to interest. But corruption having abused this wise institution of our ancestors, we were obliged to have recourse to the way of balloting, as the most probable remedy for this evil. The method being new, and immediately put in practice, it answered the present purpose very well ; but, I am afraid, in process of time it will introduce new inconveniences ; as this manner of balloting seems to afford a sort of screen to injustice and partiality. For how few are there who preserve the same delicacy of conduct in secret, as when exposed to the view of the world ? The truth is, the generality of mankind revere Fame more than Conscience. But this, perhaps, may be pronounc-
ing

ing too hastily upon a future contingency : be it therefore as it may, we have in the mean while obtained by this method an election of such magistrates as best deserved the honor. For it was with us as with those sort of judges who are named upon the spot, we were taken before we had time to be biased, and therefore determined impartially.

I have given you this detail, not only as a piece of news ; but because I am glad to seize every opportunity of speaking of the republic ; a subject, which as we have fewer occasions of mentioning than our ancestors, so we ought to be more careful not to let any of them slip. In good earnest, I am tired with repeating over and over the same compliments, *How d' ye do?* and *I hope you are well.* Why should our letters for ever turn upon trivial and domestic concerns? It is true, indeed, the direction of the public weal is in the hands of a single person, who, for the general good, takes upon himself solely to ease us of the care and weight of government; but still that bountiful source of power permits, by a very generous dispensation, some streams to flow down to us : and of these we may not only taste our selves ; but thus, as it were, administer them to our absent friends. Farewel.

LETTER XXI. To PRISCUS.

I Have just received an account of the death of poor Martial, which much concerns me. He was a man of an acute and lively genius, and his writings abound with an agreeable spirit of wit and satire, conducted at the same time by great candor and good-nature. When he left Rome I made him a present to defray the charges of his journey, which I gave him, not only as a testimony of my friendship, but in return for the verses with which he had complimented me. It was the custom of the antients to distinguish those poets with honorable and pecuniary rewards, who had celebrated particular persons or cities in their verses ; but this generous practice, with every other that is fair and noble, is now grown out of fashion ; and in consequence of having ceased to act laudably, we consider applause as an impertinent and worthless tribute. You will be desirous, perhaps, to see the verses which merited this acknowledgment from me ; and I believe I can, from my memory, partly satisfy your curiosity, without referring you to his works ; but if you are pleased with this specimen of them, you must turn to his poems for the rest. He addresses himself to his muse, whom he

he directs to go to my house upon the ^a *Esquiliae* ;
but to approach me with respect :

Go, wanton muse, but go with care,
Nor meet, ill-tim'd, my Pliny's ear.
He, by sage Minerva taught,
Gives the day to studious thought,
And plans that eloquence divine,
Which shall to future ages shine,
And rival, wond'rous Tully ! thine. }
Then, cautious, watch the vacant hour,
When Bacchus reigns in all his pow'r;
When crown'd with rosy chaplets gay,
E'en rigid Catos read my lay.

Don't you think that the poet who wrote in such terms of me, deserv'd some friendly marks of my bounty *then*, and of my sorrow *now* ? For he gave me the most he could, and it was want of power only, if his present was not more valuable. But to say truth, what higher gift can be confer'd on man than honor, and applause, and immortality ? — And tho' it should be granted, that his poems will not be immortal, still, no doubt, he composed them upon the contrary supposition. Farewel.

(a) One of the seven famous hills upon which Rome was situated.

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of the *Journal* will be much increased by the addition of
the new editor and the change of name.

The *Journal* of the American Geographical Society
will be published monthly, and will

contain descriptive and critical
articles on geographical subjects,

and will also contain a large
number of maps and illustrations.

The *Journal* will be published
in two volumes annually, and will

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VI. book 28 APPENDIX
and to the still stronger arguments which a
consideration of your own views will bring to view
THE

LETTERS

OF

P L I N Y.

BOOK IV.

LETTER I. To FABATUS.

YOU have long desired a visit from your grand-daughter^a and myself. Nothing, be assured, could be more agreeable to us both; for we equally wish to see you, and are determined to delay that pleasure no longer. For this purpose our baggage is actually making ready, and we are hastening to you with all the expedition the roads will permit. We shall stop only once, and that for

a

(a) Calphurnia, Pliny's wife.

a short time ; intending to turn a little out of the way in order to go into Tuscany : not for the sake of looking upon our estate and into our family concerns, for that we could defer to another opportunity ; but to perform an indispensable duty. There is a town near my estate, called ^b Tifernum-upon-the-Tiber, which put itself under my patronage when I was yet a youth. These people enter extremely into my interest, celebrate my arrival among them, express the greatest concern when I leave them, and in short give every proof of an affection towards me as strong as it is undeserved. That I may return their good offices (for what generous mind can bear to be excelled in acts of friendship ?) I have built a temple in this place, at my own expence ; and as it is finished, it would be a sort of impiety to omit the dedication of it any longer. We design therefore, to be there on the day that ceremony is to be performed, and I have resolved to celebrate it with a grand feast. We may possibly continue there all the next day, but we shall make so much the more expedition upon the road. May we have the happiness to find you and your daughter in good health ! as I am sure we shall in good spirits, if you see us safely arrived. Farewel.

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L E T.

(b) Now Citta di Castello.

LETTER II. To CLEMENS.

REGULUS has lost his son ; and it is perhaps, the only undeserved misfortune which could have befallen him ; for I much doubt whether he thinks it one. The boy was of a sprightly, but ambiguous turn ; however he seemed capable enough of steering right, if he could have avoided splitting upon his father's example. Regulus gave him his ^a freedom, in order to entitle him to the estate left him by his mother ; and when he got into possession of it, endeavored (as the character of the man made it generally believed) to wheedle him out of it, by the most singular and indecent complaisance. This perhaps, you will scarce think credible ; but if you consider Regulus, you will not be long of that opinion. However, he now expresses his concern for the loss of this youth in a most outragious manner. The boy had a great number of little coach and saddle horses ; dogs of different sorts, together with parrots, black-birds, and nightingales ^b in abundance : all these Regulus

flew

(a) The Romans had an absolute power over their children, which no age or station of the latter deprived them of. See B. 8. let. 19. in not.

(b) This bird was much esteemed amongst nice eaters, and was sold at a high price. Horace mentions, as an instance of great

slew 'round the funeral pile of his son, in the ostentation of an affected grief. He is visited upon this occasion by a surprizing number of people, who tho' they secretly detest and abhor him, yet are as assiduous in their attendance upon him, as if they were influenced by a principle of real esteem and affection ; or, to speak my sentiments in few words, they endeavor to merit his approbation, by following his example. He is retired to his villa 'cross the Tiber ; where he has covered a vast extent

great extravagance, two brothers who used to dine upon them :

*Quinti progenies Arri, par nobile frutrum —
Luscinias soliti impenso prandere coemtas.* L. 2. Sat. 3.

A noble pair of brothers —

On nightingales of monstrous purchase dined.

Mr. Francis.

(c) From an unaccountable notion that prevailed among the antients, that the ghosts delighted in blood, it was customary to kill a great number of beasts, and throw them on the funeral pile. In the more ignorant and barbarous ages, men were the unhappy victims of this horrid rite. Even the compassionate Æneas is represented by Virgil as practising this cruel ceremony, at the funeral honors which he performed to the memory of the unfortunate Pallas.

*Sulmone creatos
Quatuor hic juvenes, totidemque quos educat Ufens,
Viventes rapit ; inferias quos immolat umbris,
Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flamas.* AEn. 10. 517.

Four youths by Sulmo, four by Ufens bred,
Unhappy victims ! destin'd to the dead,
He seiz'd alive, to offer on the pyre,
And sprinkle with their blood the funeral fire.

Mr. Pit.

tent of ground with his porticos, and crowded all the shore with his statues ; for he blends prodigality with covetousness, and vain-glory with infamy. By his continuing there, he lays his visitors under the great inconvenience of coming to him at this unwholesome season ; and he seems to consider the trouble they put themselves to, as a matter of consolation. He gives out, with his usual absurdity, that he designs to marry. You must expect therefore, to hear shortly of the wedding of a man opprest with sorrow and years ; that is, of one who marries both too soon, and too late. Do you ask me why I conjecture thus ? certainly, not because he affirms it himself (for never was there so infamous a liar) but because there is no doubt that Regulus will do every thing he ought not. Farewel.

LETTER III. To ANTONINUS.

THAT you have twice enjoyed the dignity of Consul, with a conduct equal to that of our most illustrious ancestors ; that few, (your modesty will not suffer me to say none) ever have, or ever will come up to the integrity and wisdom of your Asiatic administration ; that in virtue, in authority, and even in years you are the first of Romans ; these, most certainly, are shining and noble parts of your character : nevertheless, I own, it is in your retired

retired hours that I most admire you. To season the severity of busines with the sprightliness of wit, and to temper wisdom with politeness, is as difficult as it is great: yet these uncommon qualities you have most happily united in those wonderful charms, which not only grace your conversation, but particularly distinguish your writings. Your lips, like the venerable old man's in ^a Homer, drop honey, and one would imagine the bee had diffused her sweetnes over all you compose. These were the sentiments I had when I lately read your Greek epigrams and satires. What elegance, what beauties shine in this collection! how sweetly the numbers flow, and how exactly are they wrought up in the true spirit of the ancients! what a vein of wit runs thro' every line, and how conformable is the whole to the rules of just criticism! I fancied I had got in my hands Callimachus or Herod, or, if possible, some poet even superior to these: tho', indeed, neither of these authors excelled, as you have, in both those species of poetry. Is it possible, that a Roman can write Greek in so much perfection? I protest I do not believe Athens herself can be more Attic. To own the truth, I cannot but envy Greece the honor of your preference. And since you can write thus elegantly

(a) Nestor. Il. 1. v. 249.

Slow from his seat arose the Pylian sage,
Experienc'd Nestor, in persuasion skil'd;
Words sweet as honey from his lips distill'd.

Pope.

gantly in a foreign language, it is past conjecture what you could have performed in your own. Farewel.

LETTER IV. To SOSSIUS.

I Have a very singular value for Calvisius-Nepos; as indeed he is a man of indefatigable industry, great eloquence, and (what I prefer to all the rest) of consummate integrity: he is nephew to your friend, and my guest Calvisius. I beg therefore you would do him and his uncle the honor of making him one of the tribunes^a of the soldiers. It will be an obligation to us at the same time, as well as to Nepos, whom, I am persuaded, you will think equally deserving your favor. You have bestowed numberless good offices upon many; but I will venture to say, you never conferred one that was better placed than here; and few, perhaps, so well. Farewel.

LETTER V. To SPARSUS.

IT is said, when ^b Æschynes at the request of the Rhodians, read to them one of his orations, together with that which Demosthenes had composed

(a) Their business was to decide all controversies in the army, to take care of the works and camp, &c. Their command lasted but six months. Kennet's Antiq.

(b) See B. 2. let. 3.

posed upon the same occasion, they both were received with the loudest applause. I am not surprized that the harangues of such excellent orators should be thus warmly admired, when I consider, that even an oration of mine, which I lately recited before a very learned audience, was heard with equal earnestness and approbation, for two days successively : yet there was not the pleasure which arises from a contention between two rival pieces, to awaken their attention. The Rhodians, besides the particular merit of the orations, had the entertainment of comparing them together, to excite their curiosity ; but mine had the good fortune to please, tho' destitute of that exciting recommendation ; whether deservedly or not, you will judge, when you read the performance ; the extent of which will not permit me to introduce it to you with a longer preface. I must therefore shorten my letter, in order to reconcile you the better to the length of the speech that attends it ; which however, I have not enlarged beyond the bounds my subject required. Farewel.

LETTER VI. To Naso.

A Storm of hail, I am informed, has destroyed all the produce of my estate in Tuscany ; while that which I have on the other side the Po,
tho'

tho' it has proved extremely fruitful this season, yet from the excessive cheapness of every thing, turns to small account. Laurentinum is the single possession which yields me any advantage. I have nothing there, indeed, but a house and gardens; all the rest is barren sands; still however, my best productions rise at Laurentinum. It is there I cultivate, if not my lands, at least my mind, and form many a composition. As in other places I can shew you full barns; so there I can entertain you with good store of the literary kind. Let me advise you then, if you wish for a never-failing revenue, to purchase something upon this contemplative coast.
Farewel.

LETTER VII. To LEPIDUS.

I HAVE often told you that Regulus is a man of spirit: whatever he engages in, he is sure to execute it in a most extraordinary manner. He chose lately to be extremely concerned for the loss of his son: accordingly he mourned for him in a way which no man ever mourned before. He took it into his head that he would have several statues and representations of him: immediately all the artisans in Rome are set to work. Colors, wax, brads, silver, ivory, marble, all exhibit the figure of young Regulus. Not long ago he read,

before a numerous audience, a panegyric upon the life of his son : a large book upon the life of a boy ! then a thousand transcribers were employed to copy this curious anecdote, which he dispersed all over the empire. He wrote likewise a sort of circular letter to the several ^a Decurii, to desire they would choose out one of their order who had a strong clear voice, to read this panegyric to the people ; and I am informed it has been done accordingly. Had this spirit (or whatever else you will call an earnestness in executing all one undertakes) been rightly applied, what infinite good might it have produced ! The misfortune is, this active cast is generally strongest in men of vicious characters : for as ignorance begets rashness, and knowledge inspires caution ; so modesty is apt to depress and weaken the great and well-formed genius, while boldness supports and strengthens low and little minds. Regulus is a strong proof of the truth of this observation : he has a weak voice, an awkward address, a thick speech, a slow imagination, and no memory ; in a word, he has nothing but an extravagant genius : and yet by the assistance of this flighty turn and much impudence, he passes with many for a finished orator. Heren-

(a) See B. i. Let. 8. in note.

nius Senecio reversed Cato's definition of an orator, and applied it with great justness to Regulus : *An orator, said he, is a bad man unskilled in the art of rhetoric*

(b) Cato, as we learn from Nonius, composed a treatise upon rhetoric, for the use of his son, wherein he defined an orator to be, *a good man, skilled in the art of speaking*. The judicious Quintilian has embraced this notion, and employs a whole chapter to prove that, “None but a good man can be an orator ;” for want of virtue is, in this excellent critic's estimation, want of genius : noble sentiments and unworthy actions, can never, he maintains, reside in the same bosom : *in eodem pectore nullum est honestorum turpiumque consortium*. Inst. Orat. I. 12. c. 1. Longinus establishes the same principle ; as indeed it prevails in general throughout the antiquits, which they extend not only to oratory, but poetry and all the fine arts. A modern author (whom future ages will mention with the best of the antiquits) has adopted this opinion, and illustrated it in several parts of his inimitable writings : “Knavery, says that ‘noble writer, is mere dissonance and disproportion’ ; and tho’ ‘villains may have strong tones, and natural capacities of action ; ’tis impossible that true judgment and ingenuity should reside, where harmony and beauty have no being.—Thus ‘the sense of inward numbers, the knowledge and practice of social virtues, and the familiarity and favor of the moral graces, are essential to the character of a deserving artist, and just favorite of the muses. Thus are the arts and virtues, mutually friends ; and thus the science of *Virtuosos*, and that of *virtue* itself, become, in a manner, one and the same.” [Characteristics, vol. i. p. 208, 338.] Virtue, no doubt, is the highest good sense, and all deviations from moral rectitude are so many false reasonings. Still it must be owned and regretted, that great parts have too often been found united with great deficiencies of the moral kind, to make the reality of that character either improbable or uncommon. Experience will force us to give credit to history in this case, rather than philosophy, and oblige us to acknowledge there is nothing inconsistent in what the elegant Paterculus says of Curio, whom he represents as, *ingeniosissime negquam, & facundus male publico* : “most ingeniously wicked, and eloquent to the destruction of his country.” Paterc. Hist. I. 2. 48.

the art of speaking. And, in good earnest, Cato's definition is not a more exact description of a true orator, than Senecio's is of the character of this man. Would you make a suitable return to this letter? let me know if you, or any of my friends in your town have with an air of pleasantry mouthed (as Demosthenes calls it) this melancholy piece to the people, like a stroller in the market-place. For so absurd a performance must move rather laughter than compassion; and indeed the composition is as puerile as the subject. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. To ARRIANUS.

MY advancement to the dignity of an Augur^a, is indeed an honor that justly merits the congratulation you give me; nor only as it is highly glorious to receive, even in the slightest instances, a testimony of the approbation of so wise and judicious a prince; but as it is also an ancient and sacred institution, which has this high and peculiar privilege annexed to it, that it is for ^b life. Other sacerdotal honors, tho' they may,

(a) Their business was to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, &c. and to tell whether any action should be fortunate, or prejudicial to particular persons, or to the whole commonwealth. Upon this account they very often occasioned the displacing of magistrates, the deferring of public assemblies, &c. Kennet's Rom. Antiq. p. 67.

(b) See B. 2. Let. 1. in not.

'perhaps, equal this in dignity, yet as they are given, so they may be taken away : but fortune has no farther power over *this*, than to bestow it. What recommends this dignity to me still more, is, that I have the honor to succeed so illustrious a person as Julius Frontinus. He for many years, upon the nomination-day of proper persons to be received into the sacred college, constantly proposed me, as if he had a view to my being his successor ; and since it has actually proved so in the event, I am willing to look upon it as something more than accident. But the circumstance, it seems, that most pleases you in this affair, is, that Tully enjoy'd the same post ; and you rejoice (you tell me) to find that I follow his steps as closely in the paths of honor, as I endeavor to do in those of eloquence. I wish, indeed, as I had the advantage to be admitted earlier into the sacred college, and consular office than Cicero, so I might, in my more advanced years, catch some spark, at least, of his divine genius ! The former, as it is in the disposal of man, may happen to me and to many ; but the latter is an attainment much too high for my hopes, and in the disposal of heaven alone. Farewell.

LETTER IX. To Ursus.

WE have been engaged for several days past in the cause of Julius Bassus, a man grown familiar with misfortunes, and render'd conspicuous by a series of calamities. In the reign of Vespasian, two private persons informed against him, and the affair being referred to the senate, it depended there a considerable time, when at last he was honorably acquitted. During the time of Titus, he was under continual apprehensions of his resentment; as being known to favor the interests of Domitian: yet when that emperor ascended the throne, Bassus was exiled; but afterwards recalled by Nerva. Having obtained the Proconsulship of Bythynia, he was at his return from thence accused of bribery and extortion; and as he was prosecuted with warmth, he was defended with vigor. The sentiments of the senate were greatly divided, however the majority were on the most favorable side. Pomponius Rufus, a person of great spirit and vivacity, was counsel against him. He was seconded by Theophanes, one of the deputies from the province, and, indeed, the chief promoter and inflamer of this prosecution. I began the reply; for Bassus insisted that the foundation of his defence should be laid by me. He desired

me

me to represent the consideration that was due to his illustrious birth, and to the dangers he had undergone; that his accusers were informers by profession, who reaped considerable advantage by their ^a trade; and to display the true reasons which rendered him odious to the feditious, and particularly to Theophanes; but above all, to confute the principal charge that was brought against him; for in all the rest, however grievous the accusation might appear, he not only deserved to be acquitted, but highly commended. The great difficulty of the case was, that, in the simplicity of his heart, he had inadvertently received the gifts which some of his friends in the province (for he had been among them before as Quæstor) thought proper to send him. This, which his accusers called rapine and extortion, Bassus justified under the notion of *presents*. But then the laws expressly forbid persons in his station, to receive any presents whatsoever. Now what method of defence should I strike into upon this occasion? If I denied the fact, I was afraid it would look like a tacit confession that it was actually extortion: besides, to disown what was so notorious, would be to heighten rather than extenuate the charge. And, indeed,

(a) Informers had a fourth part of the effects of the person convicted.

he had put that out of the power of his counsel, if they had thought it proper ; for he had said to several persons, and particularly to the emperor, that he had received and returned a few slight presents upon his birth-day, and at the feast of the ^b Saturnalia. Should I apply to the clemency of the senate ? that would be ruining my client at once, by confessing the nature of his offence was such, that there was no other way of saving him. Should I then justify the fact ? But in so doing I should have injured my own character without rendering any service to Bassus. Under these difficulties I thought it would be best to steer a middle course, and I flatter my self I happily hit upon it. But night coming on separated, as usual, the combatants. I had spoke for three hours and a half, so that I had still an hour and half remaining. For the law having allowed six hours to the plaintiff, and nine to the defendant, Bassus had so divided this portion of time between me and the advocate who was to speak after me, that I had five hours, and he the rest. But perceiving my speech had made a favorable impression upon the house, I thought it would be most advisable to add nothing more ; for it is not prudent, you know, to push one's success too far.

(b) Celebrated in honor of Saturn ; at which time it was customary for friends to send presents to one another.

far. Besides, I was apprehensive I should not have strength to renew the defence the next day, as it is much easier to go on without intermission, than to begin again after having rested. There was yet another consideration which had great weight with me : I was afraid that as the discontinuance of my speech would abate my own ardor ; so the resumption of it might prove tiresome to my hearers. When an harangue is carried on in one continued course, the speaker best keeps up his own fire and the attention of the audience, both which are apt to cool and grow languid upon a remission : just as a continued motion preserves the light of a torch, which when once it is extinct, is not easily recovered. But Bassus, almost with tears in his eyes, earnestly pressed me to go on with his defence for the remainder of the time ; which I accordingly complied with, preferring his interest to my own. And the event proved extremely favorable ; for I found the attention of the senate as fresh and lively as if it had been rather animated, than fatigued by the former part of my speech. I was seconded by Luccius Albinus, who entered so thoroughly into my reasoning, that our speeches, while they had the variety of different and distinct ones, had the connection and uniformity of one entire harangue. Herennius Polio replied to us with great spirit and solidity : and after him Theophanes

phanes spoke again. In this, as in every thing else, discovering his uncommon assurance, by presuming to take up the time of the senate after two such eloquent persons, and of consular dignity, ^b had spoke before him. He continued haranguing till evening, and even beyond it; for they called for lights. The next day Titius Homylus, and Fronto spoke gloriously in behalf of Bassus. The fourth day was employed in examining the proofs. Baebius Macer, the consul elect, declared Bassus guilty, within the express words of the law relating to bribery and extortion. Cæpio Hispo was of opinion, that without affecting his dignity, the case should be refer'd to the ordinary judges: and both their sentiments were founded in reason. You will wonder how that can be, since they were so extremely different. But you will observe that Macer, who considered the mere letter of the law, might very reasonably condemn him, when it appeared he had taken presents contrary to the express prohibition of that law. On the other hand, Cæpio supposing that the senate had a power, as undoubtedly it has, to moderate or extend

(c) The two persons here meant are Herennius Pollio, and Pomponius Rufus, mentioned above, who pleaded against Bassus, on the same side with Theophanes. Some critics indeed, suppose Pliny includes himself; but the contrary seems plain from the context. See Maſton. vit. Plin. 119.

tend the rigor of the laws, might upon very good grounds think this a case worthy of their clemency, as being, tho' indeed contrary to the express letter of the law, yet not unfrequently practised. The motion of Cæpio prevailed; and when he rose up to give the reasons for his vote, the same acclamations attended him, as usually follow an approved speech. You will easily judge therefore, how great the applause was after he had spoke, when he received such unusual ones before he began. I find the sentiments of those without doors, as well as in the house, are divided into two parties: they who approve of Cæpio's vote, condemn Macer's as severe and hard: on the contrary, the partizans of Macer's opinion, treat the other as too mild and indeed inconsistent. They assert, it is highly absurd to send a man to be tried before the ordinary judges, and yet suffer him to retain his seat in the senate. I should have told you that there was, besides those I have mentioned, a third opinion. Valerius Paulinus, who joined in sentiments with Cæpio, was for adding farther, that the senate should proceed against Theophanes, after he had finished his commission as deputy from the province. For he insisted, that Theophanes in the course of his accusation, had been guilty of several things which fell within the prohibition of this very law, upon which he grounded

grounded his information against Bassus. But tho' this proposal was in general highly approved by the senate; yet the consuls thought proper to drop it: Paulinus, however, had the full credit of so honest and bold a motion. At the breaking up of the house, Bassus was received by great crowds of people with the highest demonstrations of joy, and the loudest acclamations. This new difficulty which he had fallen into, had recalled the remembrance of his former troubles; and a name which had never been mentioned but in conjunction with some misfortune, together with the appearance of a fine person broken with sorrow and age, had raised a general compassion towards him.— You may look upon this letter as the fore-runner of my speech, which, full and copious as it is, I shall send you at large; but you must not expect it soon; for it is a subject of too much importance to be revised in haste. Farewel.

LETTER X. To SABINUS.

YO U R letter informs me, that Sabina, who appointed you and me her heirs, tho' she has no where expressly directed that Modestus shall have his freedom, yet has left him a legacy in the following words: *I give, &c.—to Modestus, whom I*

have

have ordered to be made free : Upon which you desire my sentiments. I have consulted upon this occasion with the most learned lawyers, and they all agree Modestus is not entitled to his liberty, since it is not *expressly* given, and consequently that the legacy is void, as being devised to a^a slave. But it appears plainly to be a mistake in the testatrix ; and therefore, I think we ought to act in this case as if Sabina had directed in so many words, what it is clear she imagined she had. I am persuaded you will join with me in these sentiments, who so religiously regard the will of the dead ; which indeed, where it can be discover'd, will always be *law* to an honest mind. Honor is to you and me as strong an obligation, as necessity to others. Let Modestus then enjoy his freedom and his legacy in as full a manner, as if Sabina had observed all the requisite forms : as indeed they effectually do, who choose their heirs with discretion. Farewel.

LETTER XI. To MINUTIANUS.

YOU have scarce, I imagine, yet heard (for the news is but just arrived) that Licinianus professes rhetoric in Sicily. This unfortunate person, who lately enjoyed the dignity of Prætor,

and

(a) A slave was incapable of property, and therefore whatever he acquired was for the benefit of his master.

and was esteemed the most eloquent of our advocates, is now fallen from a senator to an exile, from an orator to a teacher of rhetoric. Licinianus himself took notice of this sad change, in a strong and pathetic speech which he made at the opening of his school. *Ob fortune, said he, how capriciously dost thou sport with mankind! Thou makest rhetoricians of senators, and senators of rhetoricians!* a sarcasm so full of gall^a, that one might almost imagine he fixed upon this profession merely for the sake of an opportunity of applying it. Being dressed, when he first appear'd in the chair, after the Grecian fashion (for exiles are not permitted to wear the Roman gown) *Alas,* says he looking upon his habit, *I am going to declaim in Latin!* You will say, perhaps, this situation, wretched and deplorable as it is, is what he well deserves for having thrown so vile a stain upon his profession by his abominable lewdness. It is true, indeed, he confess'd the crime with which he was charged; but whether it was from a consciousness of his guilt, or from an apprehension of worse consequences if he denied it, is not clear: for Domitian's vengeance generally raged with the greatest fury, where his evidence fail'd him most. That emperor had determined

(a) See B. 3. let. 9. in not.

that Cornelia Maximilla, one of the vestal^b virgins, should be buried alive, from an extravagant notion that those kind of exemplary severities did honor to his reign. Accordingly in the character of high-priest, or rather indeed in that of a lawless and cruel tyrant, he convened the sacred college, not in the pontifical court where they usually assemble, but at his villa near Alba; and there, (by a sentence no less wicked as it was passed, when she was not present to defend herself, than as it was the effect of passion and revenge,) he condemned her of having violated her vestal vow. Yet he himself had been guilty, not only of debauching his brother's daughter, but was also accessory to her death: for that lady being a widow, in order to conceal her shame, endeavored to procure an abortion, and by that means lost her

(b) " Their office was to attend upon the rites of Vesta, the chief part of which was the preservation of the holy fire. If this fire happened to go out, it was thought impious to light it at any common flame, but they made use of the pure and unpoluted rays of the sun for that purpose. There were other holy things under their care, of which we have very uncertain accounts. The chief rules prescribed them were, to vow the strictest chastity for the space of 30 years. After this term was completed, they had liberty to leave the order. If they broke their vow of virginity, they were buried alive in a place allotted to that peculiar use." Kennet's Antiq. Their character for sanctity was so great, that Livy mentions two of those virgins having violated their vows, as a prodigy that threatened destruction to the Roman state. L. 22. c. 57. And Suetonius informs us, that Augustus had so high an opinion of them, that he entrusted the care of his will with six of these virgins. Suet. in vit. Aug.

her life. However, the priests were directed to see the sentence immediately performed upon Cornelia. As they were leading her to the place of execution, she called upon Vesta, and the rest of the Gods, to attest her virtue ; and amongst other exclamations, frequently cried out, *Is it possible that Cæsar can think me polluted, under the influence of whose sacred functions he has conquered and triumphed ?* Whether she said this in flattery or derision ; whether it proceeded from a consciousness of her innocence, or contempt of the emperor, is not certain^c ; but she continued exclaiming in this manner, till she came to the place of execution, to which she was led at least like a criminal, tho' perhaps not really one. As she was going down into the subterraneous cavern, her gown hung upon something in the way, upon which turning back to disengage it, the executioner offer'd her his hand, which she refused with some horror, as if she could not touch it without impurity. Thus she preserved the appearance of a consummate chastity to the concluding scene of her life,

And her last care was decently to fall.^d

Celer likewise, a Roman knight, who was accused of

(c) It was usual with Domitian to triumph not only without a victory, but even after a defeat.

(d) Euripides in his tragedy of Hecuba.

of being her gallant, during the whole time his sentence ^a was executing upon him, in the square near the senate-house, persisted in saying, *What crime have I been guilty of? I have been guilty of none.* These professions of innocence had fix'd upon the character of Domitian the imputation of cruelty and injustice, and therefore extremely exasperated him. Licinianus then, being seized by the emperor's orders for having carried off a freed-woman of Cornelia's to one of his seats, was advised, by the persons who had the custody of him, to confess the fact, if he hoped to obtain favor, and avoid the last punishment ; which he accordingly did. Herennius Senecio spoke for him in his absence, something in that concise manner which Antilochus in ^b Homer relates the death of Patroclus : *Dead is Patroclus!* *Instead of an Advocate,* said he, *I must turn informer :* *Licinianus is fled !* This news was so agreeable to Domitian, that he could not forbear betraying his satisfaction : *Then, says he, has Licinianus acquitted us of injustice in this charge ; but we*

O

will

(a) The punishment inflicted upon the violators of vestal chastity, was, to be scourged to death.

(b) Il. B. 18. v. 20.—*Antilochus appears*

And tells the melancholy tale with tears ;
Sad tidings, son of Peleus, thou must bear,
And wretched I, th' unwilling messenger !

Dead is Patroclus !—

Pope,

will not urge his confusion too far. He accordingly permitted him to carry off such of his effects as he could secure before they were seized for the use of the public, and made his banishment easy, as a sort of reward for the complaisance of this voluntary confession. Licinianus was afterwards, by the clemency of the emperor Nerva, permitted to fix in Sicily, where he now professes rhetoric, and inveighs against the caprices of fortune.—You see how obedient I am to your commands, by sending you a circumstantial detail of foreign as well as domestic news. I imagined, indeed, as you were absent when this transaction happened, that you had hear'd only in general that Licinianus was banished upon account of his lewdness. For Fame usually makes her report in general terms, without relating particular circumstances. I think I deserve in return a full account of all that happens in your town and its neighborhood; for sometimes, no doubt, occurrences arise there worth relating; however, write any thing, provided you send me a letter as long as mine. But I give you notice, I will abate nothing in this demand, and I shall not only number the sides, but even the very lines and syllables. Farewel.

out to distinguish such deviation and evil as they shall
choose to notice; and by such means as you
LETTER XII. To ARRIANUS.

I know you love Marcellinus; as indeed you have frequently mentioned him to me with approbation; but he will rise still higher in your affection when I inform you of the honorable part he has lately acted. When he went Quæstor into one of the provinces, the person to whose lot it fell to attend him as secretary, happening to die before his salary became due, Marcellinus had too much honor to think he had a right of applying the sum which the public had appointed for that purpose, to his own use. At his return therefore he applied to Cæsar, who refer'd the consideration of what should be done with this money, to the senate. It was a question indeed of no great importance; however a question it was. The heirs of the secretary claim'd it for themselves, and the commissioners of the treasury for the public. The cause was tried, and counsel was heard, who spoke extremely well on both sides. Cæcilius Strabo was of opinion that the public had a right to this sum. Bæbius Macer gave it for the heirs: but it was determined agreeably to the sentiments of the former. You will, I am persuaded, take the first opportunity, as I did myself, of expressing your approbation to Marcellinus of this action; for tho' indeed it is abundantly

sufficient that he has received the applause of the emperor and the senate, yet the addition of yours will be a very considerable satisfaction to him. Those who are actuated by a sense of fame, are fond of praise, even tho' it comes from their inferiors ; but Marcellinus has so high an esteem of you, as to be particularly desirous to approve himself to your judgment. To which let me add, it will heighten his pleasure when he finds, that the fame of this action has travelled so far as to have reach'd you, For I know not how it is, mankind are generally more pleased with an extensive than even a great reputation. Farewel.

LETTER XIII. To CORNELIUS TACITUS.

I Rejoyce that you are safely arrived in Rome ; for tho' I am always desirous to see you, I am more particularly so now. I purpose to continue a few days longer at my house at Tusculum, in order to finish a work which I have upon my hands. For I am afraid, should I put a stop to this design now that it is so nearly compleated, I shall find it difficult to resume it. In the mean while, that I may lose no time, I send this letter before me to request a favor of you, which I hope shortly to ask in person. But before I inform you what my request is, I must let you into the occasion

sion of it. Being lately at Comum, the place of my nativity, a young lad, son to one of my neighbours, made me a visit. I asked him whether he studied oratory, and where? he told me he did, and at * Mediolanum. And why not here? because, said his father, (who came with him) we have no masters. "No!" said I, surely it nearly concerns you who are fathers (and very opportunely several of the company were so) that your sons should receive their education here, rather than any where else. For where can they be placed more agreeably than in their own country, or instructed with more safety and less expence than at home and under the eye of their parents? upon what very easy terms might you, by a general contribution, procure proper masters, if you would only apply towards the raising a salary for them, the extraordinary expence it costs you for your sons journeys, lodgings, and whatever else you pay for upon account of their being abroad; as pay indeed you must in such a case for every thing. Tho' I have no children myself, yet I shall willingly contribute to a design so beneficial to (what I look upon as a child, or a parent) my country; and therefore I will advance a third part of any sum you shall think proper to raise for this purpose. I would take

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"upon

(a) Milan.

“ upon myself the whole expence, were I not apprehensive that my benefaction might hereafter be abused and perverted to private ends ; as I have observed to be the case in several places where public foundations of this nature have been established. The single means to prevent this mischief is, to leave the choice of the masters entirely in the breast of the parents, who will be so much the more careful to determine properly, as they shall be obliged to share the expence of maintaining them. For tho' they may be careless in disposing of another's bounty, they will certainly be cautious how they apply their own ; and will see that none but those who deserve it shall receive my money, when they must at the same time receive theirs too. Let my example then encourage you to unite heartily in this useful design ; and be assured the greater the sum my share shall amount to, the more agreeable it will be to me. You can undertake nothing that will be more advantageous to your children, nor more acceptable to your country. They will by this means receive their education where they receive their birth, and be accustomed from their infancy to inhabit and affect their native soil. May you be able to procure professors of such distinguished abilities that the neighboring towns “ shall

" shall be glad to draw their learning from hence ;
" and as you now send your children to foreigners
" for education, may foreigners in their turn flock
" hither for their instruction."

I thought proper thus to lay open to you the rise of this affair, that you might be the more sensible how agreeable it will be to me, if you undertake the office I request. I intreat you therefore, with all the earnestness a matter of so much importance requires, to look out, amongst the great numbers of men of letters which the reputation of your genius brings to you, proper persons to whom we may apply for this purpose ; but without entering into any agreement with them on my part. For I would leave it entirely free to the parents to judge and choose as they shall see proper : all the share I pretend to claim is, that of contributing my care and my money. If therefore any one shall be found who thinks himself qualified for the undertaking, he may repair thither ; but without relying upon any thing but his merit. Farewel.

LETTER XIV. To PATERNUS.

YOU expect, perhaps, as usual, some grave oration ; but I am going to put into your hands, as a most delicate curiosity, some of my poetical amusements. You will receive then with

this letter a collection of my verses, which I wrote to while away an idle hour upon the road, in the bath, or at table. They were composed upon different occasions, as I found my self in a gay, an amorous, a melancholy, or satirical humor ; and accordingly the stile is sometimes elevated, and sometimes simple. I endeavor'd by this variety to hit different tastes ; as some things may be found in them, perhaps, of general relish. If you should meet with any passages which may seem too free, your reading will supply you with my apology, in the example of those great and venerable names who have gone before me in the same kind of writing, who without scruple have employed not only the warmest descriptions, but the plainest terms. This, however, is a liberty I have not allowed my self ; not as pretending to more severity (for why should I ?) but because, in truth, I have less courage. Nevertheless, I entirely approve of the rule which Catullus lays down for these kind of compositions :

*Let the poet's conduct be
Free from wanton levity ;
Not so his muse — her sportive lay
Pleases most, when most she's gay.*

You

You must look upon it as an instance of the great value I set upon your judgment, that I venture to submit the whole to your examination, rather than select out of them some of the more finished pieces for your approbation. Indeed in these kind of miscellaneous collections, what would pass off well enough if they were view'd separately, lose all their advantage, by appearing in better company. But a sensible and discerning reader ought not to compare pieces of distinct sorts with one another, but examine each performance apart, and if it is perfect in its kind, not condemn it because it falls short of the beauties of some others of a different nature. But I will say nothing more of them; for to attempt to excuse or recommend this idle business by a long preface, would be adding one folly to another. I will only therefore premise farther, that I design to give these trifles the title of *Hendecasyllables*, in allusion to the measure in which the verses are compos'd. Call them, if you think proper, Epigrams, Eclogues, or (as many others have) little Poems; in a word, give them what name you please, I offer them only as *Hendecasyllables*. All I beg of your sincerity is, that you would speak your opinion of them to me, with the same freedom that you would to others. When I ask

(a) A verse consisting of eleven syllables.

I ask this, I think, I lay you under no difficulty. If, indeed, these little poetical essays were my only or chief productions, it might sound, perhaps, a little harsh to advise me, *to mind something else*; but you may with great delicacy and politeness tell me, *I have something else to mind*. Farewel.

LETTER XV. To FUNDANUS.

IF I can pretend to judgment in any thing, it is undoubtedly in the singular affection which I have for Asinius Rufus. He is a person of the highest merit, and a friend to all good men, in which number why may I not venture to include myself? He and Tacitus (whose eminent virtues you are no stranger to) are united in the strictest intimacy. If therefore you esteem us, you cannot but have the same favorable sentiments of Rufus; for a similitude of manners is, you know, the strongest cement of friendship. He has several children: and in this, as in every thing else, he acts the part of a friend to his country, by supplying it with a numerous race of citizens, which he sees with pleasure extend to a second generation; and this in an age when even one child is thought

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a burthen, as it prevents that lucrative indulgence which is usually paid to those who have none. But he scorns such low views, and thinks himself happy in the title of grand-father ; for which he is indebted to Saturius Firmus : a person whom you would esteem as much as I do, if you knew him as well. My design in all this detail, is, to let you see, what a numerous family you may oblige by conferring a single favor : a favor which I apply to you for, because I sincerely wish and assuredly preface you will soon be in a condition to grant it. I hope, and believe you will be Consul the approach-

(a) As luxury prevailed among the Romans, avarice, its sure attendant, increased in proportion, and among other base methods of gratifying the importunate demands of unbounded desires, the mean practice of paying court to the wealthy with a view to their fortunes, was extremely common. Horace has exposed this contemptible commerce in his usual agreeable manner, and recommends it as the most infallible method of becoming rich :

— — — — “ unde
“ Divitias ærisque ruam, dic augur, acervos?”
Dixi equidem, & dico : captes astutus ubique
Testamenta senum; neu, si vafer unus & alter
Insidiatorem præroso fugerit bam,
Aut spem deponas, aut artem, illusus, omittas.

Sat. 5. l. 2.]

“ Tell, for you know, my friend prophetic tell,
 “ What shall I do my empty bags to swell ?”
 “ Have I not said it ? and I say it still,
 Court each rich dolt, and slide into his will :
 Tho’ here or there, perhaps, a rogue be found,
 Too wise to gorge the hook he nibbles round,
 Lose not thy hopes, nor quit, deceiv’d, the game.

proaching year : and this persuasion I am confirmed in both by your own conspicuous merit, and the distinguishing judgment of the emperor. Asinius Bassus, the eldest son of Rufus, solicits the Questorship at the same time. I know not whether I ought to say (which however the father would have me both say and think, tho' Bassus is too modest to allow of it) that he is a greater man than his father. Were I to represent his abilities, his probity, his learning, his genius, his application and his parts as great as you will most certainly experience them ; you, who never yet suspected my veracity, would scarce conceive he deserved the character. I wish our age so abounded in merit, as to supply you with some who might justly stand in competition with him. In that case I should be the first to advise you, to consider well where to fix your choice : but the misfortune is — however I will not speak of my friend in an invidious strain. I will only say he is a young man, who deserves you should look upon him in the same relation as our ancestors used to consider their ^a Quæstors, that is, as your son. Men of your character for wisdom should choose their political children of the same cast they would wish

(a) The connection between a Consul and his Quæstor, &c. was considered by the antient Romans as a tie of the strongest kind. Vid. Cic. in Verrem.

wish nature to form their real ones. Will it not be an honor to your Consulship to have a Quæstor whose father has been Prætor, and whose relations *Consuls, yet who, tho' but a youth, reflects back to his family (and that by their own confession) as much glory as he derives from it?* Let me entreat you then to comply with my request and my advice. In which, if I seem premature, I hope you will pardon me, when you consider, that in a place where every thing is seized by the man who can first lay hold of it, it is staying much too late to wait till precisely the proper time: besides that, there is a pleasure in anticipating one's wishes. Allow Bassus then to revere you already as his Consul, and do you in return esteem him as your Quæstor; and may I, who love you both, enjoy that double pleasure. The truth is, as you have each so equal a claim to my affection, that I shall be obliged to promote with all my labor and credit both your interests in this affair, tho' they should happen to be distinct, so it will be extremely agreeable if I may be able to serve these two ends at one and the same time, in my good offices to this young man; and in a word, to be supported in this solicitation by your assistance, to whose judgment and suffrage the senate pays so great a regard. Farewell.

LETTER XVI. To VALERIUS PAULINUS.

R Ejoice, with me, my friend, not only upon my account, but your own, and that of the public; for Eloquence is still held in honor. Being lately engaged to plead in a cause before the Centumviri, the crowd was so great that I could not get to my place, but in passing by the tribunal where the judges sat. And I have this pleasing circumstance to add farther, that a young nobleman having lost his robe in the press, stood in his vest to hear me for seven hours together: for so long I was speaking; and with a success equal to my great fatigue. Come on then, my friend, and let us earnestly pursue our studies, nor screen our own indolence under pretence of that of the public. Never, we may rest assured, will there be wanting hearers and readers, so long as we can supply them with orators and authors worth attending to. Farewel.

LETTER XVII. To GALLUS.

Y OU acquaint me that Cœcilius, the consul elect, has commenced a suit against Correllia, and earnestly beg me to undertake her cause in her absence. As I have reason to thank you for

for your information, so I have to complain of your intreaties : without the first, indeed, I should have been ignorant of this affair, but the last was unnecessary, as I want no solicitations to comply, where it would be ungenerous in me to refuse ; for can I hesitate a moment to take upon my self the protection of a daughter of Correllius ? It is true, indeed, tho' there is no particular intimacy between her adversary and me, we are, however, upon good terms. It is true likewise, that he is a person of great rank, and who has a claim to particular regard from me, as he is entering upon an office, which I have had the honor to fill ; and it is natural for a man to be desirous those dignities should be treated with the highest respect, which he himself once possessed. Yet these considerations have little weight, when I reflect that it is the daughter of Correllius whom I am to defend. The memory of that excellent person, than whom this age has not produced a man of greater dignity, rectitude, and good sense, is indelibly impressed upon my mind. I admired him before I was acquainted with him ; and, contrary to what is usually the case, my esteem increased in proportion as I knew him better : and indeed I knew him thoroughly, for he treated me without reserve, and admitted me to share in his joys and his sorrows, in his gay and his serious hours. When I was but a youth, he esteemed,

ed, and (I will even venture to say) revered me as if I had been his equal. When I solicited any post of honor, he supported me with his interest, and recommended me by his testimony ; when I enter'd upon it, he was my introducer and my attendant ; when I exercised it, he was my guide and my counsellor. In a word, where-ever my interest was concerned, he exerted himself with as much alacrity as if he had been in all his health and vigor. In private, in public, and at court, how often has he advanced and supported my reputation! It happen'd once, that the conversation before the emperor Nerva turned upon the hopeful young men of that time, and several of the company were pleased to mention me with applause : he sat for a little while silent, which gave what he said the greater weight ; and then with that air of dignity, to which you are no stranger, *I must be reserved*, said he, *in my praises of Pliny, because he does nothing without my advice.* By which single sentence he gave me a greater character than I would presume even to wish for, as he represented my conduct to be always such as wisdom must approve, since it was wholly under the direction of one of the wisest of men. Even in his last moments he said to his daughter, (as she often mentions,) *I have in the course of a long life raised up many friends to you ; but there is none that*

that you may more assuredly depend upon, than Pliny and Cornutus. A circumstance I cannot reflect upon, without being deeply sensible how much it is incumbent upon me, to endeavor to act up to the opinion so excellent a judge of mankind conceived of me. I shall therefore most readily give my assistance to Corellia in this affair; and willingly hazard any displeasure I may incur by appearing in her cause. Tho' I should imagine, if in the course of my pleadings I should find an opportunity to explain and enforce, more at large than I can do in a letter, the reasons I have here mentioned, upon which I rest at once my apology and my glory; her adversary (whose suit may perhaps, as you say, be entirely unprecedented, as it is against a *woman*) will not only excuse, but approve my conduct. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII. To ANTONINUS.

CAN I give you a stronger instance how much I admire your Greek epigrams, than that I have endeavored to imitate some of them in a Latin translation? I confess however, partly from the impotence of my own genius, and partly from the weakness, or as Lucretius calls it, *the poverty* of our native language, much to their disadvantage; yet, if cloathed in a Roman dress, and by

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my unskilful hand, you should still be able to discover some remaining beauty in them; what must their charms be, do you imagine, when adorned with all the majesty of the Greek language, and formed by your superior genius? Farewel.

LETTER XIX. To HIS PULLA.

AS you are an exemplary instance of tender regard to your family in general, and to your late excellent brother in particular, whose affection you returned with an equal warmth of resentment; and have not only shewn the kindness of an aunt, but supplied the loss of a tender parent to his daughter^a; you will hear, I am well persuaded, with infinite pleasure, that she behaves worthy of her father, her grand-father, and your self. She possesses an excellent understanding, together with a consummate prudence, and gives the strongest testimony of the purity of her heart by her fondness of me. Her affection to me has given her a turn to books; and my compositions, which she takes a pleasure in reading, and even getting by heart, are continually in her hands. How full of tender solicitude is she when I am entering upon any cause? How kindly does she rejoice with me when it is over? While I am pleading, she places

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(a) Calphurnia, Pliny's wife.

persons to inform her from time to time how I am hear'd, what applauses I receive, and what success attends the cause. When at any time I recite my works, she conceals her self behind some curtain, and with secret rapture enjoys my praises. She sings my verses to her lyre, with no other master but Love, the best instructor, for her guide. From these happy circumstances I draw my most assured hopes, that the harmony between us will increase with our days, and be as lasting as our lives. For it is not my youth or my person, which time gradually impairs ; it is my reputation and my glory that she is enamor'd of. But what less could be expected from one who was train'd by your hands, and formed by your instructions ; who was early familiarised under your roof with all that is worthy and amiable, and was first taught to conceive an affection for me, by the advantageous colors in which you were pleased to represent me. And as you revered my mother with all the respect due even to a parent, so you kindly directed and encouraged my infancy, presaging of me from that early period all that my wife now fondly imagines I really am. Accept therefore of our mutual thanks, that you have thus, as it were designedly, formed us for each other. Farewel.

LETTER XX. To MAXIMUS.

I Have already acquainted you with my opinion of each particular part of your work, as I perused it; I must now tell you my general thoughts of the whole. It is a strong and beautiful performance; the sentiments are sublime and masculine, and conceived in all the variety of a pregnant imagination; the diction is chaste and elegant; the figures are happily chosen, and a copious and diffusive vein of eloquence runs thro' the whole, and raises a very high idea of the author. You seem borne away by the full tide of a strong imagination, and deep sorrow, which mutually assist and heighten each other: for your genius gives sublimity and majesty to your passion; and your passion adds strength and poignancy to your genius. Farewell.

LETTER XXI. To VELIUS CEREALIS.

HOW severe a fate has attended the daughters of Helvidius! these two sisters are both dead in child-bed, after having each of them been delivered of a girl. This misfortune pierces me with the deepest sorrow; as indeed, to see two such amiable young ladies fall a sacrifice to their fruitfulness in the prime

prime and flower of their years, is a misfortune which I cannot too greatly lament. I lament for the unhappy condition of the poor infants, who are thus become orphans from their birth : I lament for the sake of the disconsolate husbands of these ladies ; and I lament too for my own. The affection I bear to the memory of their late father, is inviolable, as my ^a defence of him in the senate, and all my writings will witness for me. Of three children which survived him there now remains but one, and his family that had lately so many noble supports, rests only upon a single person ! It will, however, be a great mitigation of my affliction, if fortune shall kindly spare that *one*, and render him worthy his father and ^b grand-father : and I am so much the more anxious for his welfare and good conduct, as he is the only branch of the family remaining. You know the softness and solicitude of my heart where I have any tender attachments ; you must not wonder then, that I have many fears, where I have great hopes. Farewel.

(a) See B. 9. let. 13.

(b) The famous Helvidius Priscus, who signalized himself in the senate by the freedom of his speeches in favor of liberty, during the reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian; in whose time he was put to death by the order of the senate, tho' contrary to the inclination of the emperor, who countermanded the execution : but it was too late, the executioner having performed his office before the messenger arrived. Tacitus represents him as acting in all the various duties of social life with one consistent tenor of uniform virtue ; superior to all temptations of wealth, of inflexible integrity, and unbroken courage, Hist. l. 4. 5.

LETTER XXII. To RUFUS.

ILately attended our excellent emperor ^a as one of his assessors ^b, in a cause wherein he himself presided. A certain person left by his will, a fund for the establishment of the ^c gymnastic games at ^d Vienna. These my worthy friend Trebonius Rufinus, when he exercised the office of Duumvir ^e, had ordered to be totally abolished; and it was now alledged against him, that he had no authority for so doing. He spoke in his own cause with a success equal to his great eloquence; and what particularly recommended his speech was, that he delivered it with a certain seasonable boldness becoming a true Roman and a good citizen, who stood up in his own defence. When the sentiments of the assessors were taken, Junius Mauricus (who in resolution and integrity has no superior) declared it was his opinion, that the liberty of solemnizing these games should not be restored to the

(a) Trajan.

(b) See B. 6. L. 22. in not.

(c) So called, because the persons who performed in these games were naked. They consisted principally of running, wrestling, and boxing.

(d) Vienne in Dauphiné, a province in France.

(e) The Duumviri, so called from their number, being only two, were magistrates in the corporate cities, who exercised in their respective corporations, the same functions as the Consuls at Rome; they were chosen out of the body of Decuriones, who were a kind of senators. Siganus de jure It.l. l. 3. 4.

the people of Vienna; *and would to God*, added he, *they could be abolished at Rome too!* This, you will say, was an instance of great ^ffiriness: but it is nothing uncommon in Mauricus. He gave as strong a proof of this honest freedom, before the late emperor Nerva.. Being at supper one evening with that prince and a few select friends, Venzento^g was placed next to the emperor: After I have named the man, I need say no more to raise your indignation. The discourse happened to turn upon Catullus Messalinus, who had a soul as dark as his body; for he was not only cursed with want of fight, but want of humanity. As he was uninfluenced either by fear, shame, or compassion, he proved a very proper instrument in the hand of Domitian to execute his black purposes against every man of worth. The company gave their sentiments of the sanguinary counsels and infamous practices of this creature. “ And what, said the emperor, would have been his fate had he lived now?” *To have supp’d with us*, replied Mauricus. But to return from this long digression, which, however, I did not fall into undesignedly.— It was determined these games should be suppressed, which had great-

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(f) Trajan was fond of these kind of entertainments, and had himself exhibited some very splendid ones, upon his triumph over the Dacians.

(g) An infamous sycophant frequently mentioned by Juvenal.

ly infected the manners of the people of Vienna; as they have universally had the same effect among us. But the vices of the Viennenses are confin'd within their own walls; ours have a more extensive influence: for it is in the body politic, as in the natural, those disorders are most dangerous that flow from the head. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII. To POMPONIUS BASSUS.

I Had the pleasure to hear from our common friends, that you support the dignity of ease in your agreeable retirement, as becomes a man of your distinguished wisdom; that you mix exercise with contemplation, and learned conferences with much reading; in a word, that you are daily increasing that glorious fund of knowledge you already possess. This is to grow old in a way worthy of one who has discharged the highest offices both civil and military, and who gave himself wholly up to the service of the commonwealth, whilst it became him to do so. Our youth and manhood we owe to our country, but our declining age is due to ourselves; as the laws themselves seem to suggest, which resign us up to retirement, when we are arrived beyond our sixtieth year^a. How do I long for

(a) A senator was not obliged to attend the business of the boule, after that age. Seneca de Civ. vit. c. 20,

for the time when I shall enjoy that happy privilege! When my years will justify my following the example of your honorable retreat! When my retirement shall not be deem'd indolence, but repose! Farewel.

LETTER XXIV. To VALENS.

B EING engaged lately in a cause before the Centumviri, it occur'd to me that when I was a youth I was also concerned in one which pass'd thro' the same courts. I could not forbear, as usual, to pursue the reflection my mind had start'd, and to consider if there were any of those advocates then p^{re}sent, who were joined with me in the former cause; but I found I was the only person remaining who had been counsel in both: such changes does the instability of human nature, or the vicissitudes of fortune produce! Death had remov'd some; banishment others; age and infirmities had silenced those, while these were withdrawn to enjoy the happiness of retirement; *one* was at the head of an army; and the indulgence of the prince had exempted *another* from the burthen of civil employments. What turns of fortune have I experienced even in my own person!

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It was eloquence that first raised me ; it was eloquence that occasioned my disgrace ; and it was eloquence that advanced me again. The friendships of the wise and good at my first appearance in the world, were highly serviceable to me ; the same friendships proved afterward extremely prejudicial to my interest, and now again they are my ornament and support. If you compute the time in which these incidents have happened, it is but a few years ; if you number the events, it seemis an age. A lesson that will teach us to check both our despair and presumption, when we observe such a variety of revolutions role round in so swift and narrow a circle. It is my custom to communicate to my friend all my thoughts, and to set before him the same rules and examples, by which I regulate my own conduct : and such was my design in this letter. Farewel.

LETTER XXV. To MAXIMUS.

IMENTIONED to you in a former^a letter, that I apprehended the method of voting by ballots would be attended with inconveniences ; and so it has proved. At the last election of magistrates, upon some of the tablets were wrote several pieces of pleasantry, and even indecencies ; in one

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(a) Book 3. let. 20.

particularly, instead of the name of the candidate, was inserted the names of those who espoused his interest. The senate was extremely exasperated at this insolence, and with one voice threatned the vengeance of the emperor upon the author. But he lay concealed, and possibly might be in the number of those who expressed the greatest indignation. What must one think of such a man's private conduct, who in public, upon so important an affair, and at so solemn a time, could indulge himself in such scurrilous liberties, and dare to act the droll in the face of the senate? *Who will know it,* is the argument that prompts little and base minds to commit these indecencies. Secure from being discovered by others, and unaw'd by any self-respect, they take their pen and tablets; and hence arises these buffooneries, which are fit only for the stage. What course shall we take, what remedy apply against this abuse? our disorders indeed in general, have every where eluded all attempts to restrain them. But this is a point much too high for us, and will be the care of that superior power, who by these low, but daring insults, has daily fresh occasions of exerting all his pains and vigilance. Farewel.

LETTER XXVI. To NEPOS.

TH E request you make me to supervise the correction of my works, which you have taken the pains to collect, I shall most willingly comply with ; as indeed there is nothing I ought to do with more readiness, especially when it is at your instance. When a man of such dignity, learning, and eloquence, deeply engaged in business, and entering upon the important government of a province, has so good an opinion of my works as to think them worth taking with him, how am I obliged to endeavor that this part of his baggage may not seem an useless embarrassment ? My first care therefore shall be, that they may attend you with all the advantages possible ; and my next, to supply you at your return with others, which you may not think undeserving to be added to them ; for I can have no stronger encouragement to enter upon some new work, than being assured of finding a reader of your taste and discernment. Farewel.

LETTER XXVII. To FALCO.

IHave been attending these three days the recital of Augurinus's poems, which I heard not only with great pleasure, but even admiration,

miration. They are conceived with much delicacy and elegance, and abound with numberless strokes of tenderness and sublimity, of wit and satire. I am of opinion, there has not any thing for these many years appeared more finished of the kind ; if indeed my great affection for him and the praises he bestows upon me, do not bias my judgment. He introduces his poems with observing, that I sometimes amuse myself with writing verses. If I can recollect the second line of this introduction (for the rest I remember and have often repeated) you shall judge if my sentiments of them are just :

Sweetly flow my tender lays
Like Calvus or Catullus strains,
(Bards approv'd of antient days !)
Where love in all its softness reigns.

Yet wherefore *antient* poets name ?
Let Pliny my example be ;
Him the sacred nine inflame ;
More than *antient* poets he !

To mutual love he tunes the lay,
While far the noisy bar he flies ;
Say then ye grave, ye formal say,
Who shall gentle love despise ?

You

You see with what sprightliness of imagination, what propriety of sentiment, what clearness of expression the whole is wrought up ; and in this taste, I will venture to assure you, you will find his performance in general, which I will send you as soon as it shall be published. In the mean while, admit this excellent youth into a share of your affection, and congratulate our age on the production of such a genius, whose virtues render him still more illustrious. He spends his time partly with Spurinna, and partly with Antoninus ; he has the honor to be related to one, and to be the companion of both. You will easily imagine what uncommon virtues *he* must possess, who is thus the favorite of two such venerable old men ; for the poet's observation is most undoubtedly true :

Those who in close society are join'd,
In manners equal will you ever find. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII. To SEVERUS.

HERENNIUS Severus, a person of distinguished learning, is greatly desirous to have the pictures of two of your country-men, Cornelius Nepos, and Titus Cassius, to adorn his library ; and has intreated me, if they are to be met

(a) Euripiles.

met with where you are (as probably they may) that I would procure copies of them for him. That care I recommend to you, rather than to any other, not only because I know your friendship for me readily inclines you to comply with my requests ; but as being sensible of the high regard you have for learning and all her friends ; and that your affection and veneration for those who have been an ornament to your country, is equal to that which you bear towards your country herself. I beg therefore you would employ some skilful hand in this work ; for if it is difficult to catch a likeness from the life, it is much more so to preserve it in a copy ; which I desire you would not suffer the painter to deviate from, not even for the better. Farewel.

LETTER XXIX. To ROMANUS.

INdeed my friend, you must at all rates, take your place upon the bench the next time the court sits. In vain would your indolence repose itself under my protection ; for there is no absenting with impunity. Behold that severe Praetor, the bold Licinius Nepos, fining even a mighty senator for the same neglect ! the senator pleaded his cause in person ; but pleaded in suppliant tone. The fine, 'tis true, was remitted ; but sore was his dis-
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may, but humble his intercessions, but sad his necessity of being obliged to ask pardon. All magistrates in that office, you will tell me perhaps, are not thus formidably rigid. In good earnest however, you may be mistaken ; for tho' indeed, to be the author or reviver of an example of this kind, may be an act of severity, yet when once it is introduced, even lenity herself may follow the precedent. Farewel.

LETTER XXX. To LICINIUS.

I Have brought you as a present out of the country, a query which well deserves the consideration of your extensive erudition. There is a spring which rises in a neighboring mountain, and running among the rocks is received into a little banqueting-room, from whence after being detained a short time, it falls into the Larian^a lake. The nature of this spring is extremely surprizing ; it ebbs and flows regularly three times a day. This encrease and decrease is plainly visible, and very entertaining to observe. You sit down by the side of the fountain, and while you are taking a repast and drinking its water, which is extremely cool, you see it gradually rise and fall. If you place a ring, or any thing else at

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(a) See B. 1. let. 3. in not.

the bottom when it is dry, the stream reaches it by degrees 'till it is entirely covered, and then again gently retires from it ; and this you may see it do for three times successively. Shall we say, that some secret current of air stops and opens the fountain-head, as it advances to or recedes from it ; as we see in bottles, and other vessels of that nature, where there is not a free and open passage, tho' you turn their necks downwards, yet the outward air obstructing the vent, they discharge their contents ? Or may it not be accounted for upon the same principle as the flux and reflux of the sea ? or, as those rivers which discharge themselves into the sea, meeting with contrary winds and the swell of the ocean are forced back in their channels ; so may there not be something that checks this fountain, for a time, in its progress ? or is there rather a certain reservoir that contains these waters in the bowels of the earth, which while it is recruiting its discharges, the stream flows more slowly and in less quantity, but when it has collected its due measure, it runs again in its usual strength and fulness ? or lastly, is there not I know not what kind of subterraneous poize, that throws up the water when the fountain is dry, and repels it when it is full ? You, who are so well qualified for the enquiry, will examine the

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reasons^b of this wonderful appearance; it will be sufficient for me if I have given you a clear description of it. Farewel.

(b) There are several of these periodical fountains in different parts of the world; as we have some in England. *Lay-well* near Torbay is mentioned in the Philosophical Transactions, [No. 104. p. 909.] to ebb and flow several times every hour. The reasons of these kind of springs are of no very easy solution, and the causes assigned by modern philosophers are scarce more satisfactory than those pointed out by the antients: perhaps they do not depend upon any general principle, but arise from different causes according to their respective situations. The conjecture which Mr. Addison offers in accounting for those he saw in Switzerland, seems plausible enough, and equally applicable to this fountain mentioned by Pliny; as it is probable it took its rise from the same mountains. " We saw (says " that inimitable author in his description of Geneva and the " lake) in several parts of the Alps that border'd upon us, vast " pits of snow; as several mountains that lie at a greater distance " are wholly cover'd with it. I fancy'd the confusion of moun- " tains and hollows I here observ'd, furnish'd me with a more pro- " bable reason than any I have metwith, for these periodical foun- " tains in Switzerland, which flow only at particular hours of the " day. For as the tops of these mountains cast their shadows upon " one another, they hinder the sun's shining on several parts at " such certain times, so that there are several heaps of snow " which have the sun lying upon them for two or three hours " together, and are in the shade all the day afterward. If " therefore it happens, that any particular fountain takes its " rise from any of these reservoirs of snow, it will naturally " begin to flow on such hours of the day as the snow begins " to melt: but as soon as the sun leaves it again to freeze and " harden, the fountain dries up, and receives no more supplies, " till about the same time the next day, when the heat of the " sun again sets the snows a running that fell into the same " little conduits, traces and canals, and by consequence break " out and discover themselves always in the same place." Addison's Trav. 353.

THE
LETTERS
OF
PLINY.

BOOK V.

LETTER I. To SEVERUS.

A Small legacy which was lately left me, has given me much greater pleasure than I should have received by a far more considerable one from any other person. Pomponia Gratilla, having disinherited her son *Affidius Curianus*, appointed me, and *Sertorius Severus* of *Prætorian* rank, together with several eminent Roman knights, her coheirs. The son applied to me to give him my share of the inheritance, in order to make use of my name as a precedent against the rest of

the heirs; but offer'd at the same time to enter into a secret agreement to return my proportion back to me. I told him, it was by no means agreeable to my character to carry the appearance of acting one thing, while I was, in truth, acting another; and that there was something of meanness in making presents to a man of his fortune, who had no children: besides that, it would not at all answer the purpose he was aiming at. Indeed, (I added) if I were to withdraw my claim, it might be of some service to him; and this I was ready and willing to do, if he could prove to me that he was unjustly disinherited. "Let me prevail with you then," said he, "to be my arbitrator in this case." After a short pause, I told him I consented to his proposal; "for why," said I, "should I not have as good an opinion of my own impartial disinterestedness as you seem to have? But remember I am not to be prevailed upon to decide the point in question against your mother, if it should appear she had just reason for what she has done. Be it agreeable to your inclination, said he, which I am sure is always to act according to justice." I called to my assistance Corellius and Frontinus, two of the most considerable lawyers which Rome at that time afforded. Attended with those friends, I hear'd the cause in my chamber. Curianus said every thing which he thought could favor his pretensions,

tensions, to whom (as there was no body but my self to defend the character of Gratilla) I made a short reply ; after which I retired with my friends to deliberate upon the case, and then returned and acquainted Curianus, that it was our opinion his conduct had justly drawn upon him his mother's resentment. Sometime afterward, Curianus commenced a suit in the *Centumviral* court against all the coheirs except myself. The day appointed for the trial approaching, the rest of the coheirs were desirous of compromising the affair ; not out of any diffidence of their cause, but from a distrust of the times. They were apprehensive, what had been the case of many others might happen to them, and that from a civil suit it should end in a capital one ; as there was some among them to whom the friendship of Gratilla and Rusticus ^a might be extremely prejudicial : they therefore desired me to go and talk with Curianus. We met in the temple of *Concord* ; “ suppose, said I, your mother had left you the fourth part of her estate, or even suppose she had made you sole heir, but had exhausted so much of the estate in legacies that there would not be more than a fourth part remaining to you ; could you justly have complained ? You ought

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“ to

(a) Gratilla was the wife of Rusticus : Rusticus was put to death by Domitian, and Gratilla banished. It was a sufficient crime in the reign of that execrable prince to be even a friend of those who were obnoxious to him. See B. 7. let. 33. last note.

"to be contented therefore, if being absolutely disin-
"herited, as you are, the heirs are willing to relin-
"quish to you a fourth part; which however I will
"encrease by contributing my proportion. You
"know you did not commence any suit against me,
"so that the prescription which I have gained by two
"years peaceable possession, secures my share from
"any claim you can set up against it. But to induce
"you to come into the proposals on the part of the
"coheirs, and that you may be no sufferer by the
"peculiar respect you shew'd to me, I offer to con-
"tribute my proportion with them."--The silent sa-
tisfaction of my own conscience is not the only plea-
sure this transaction has afforded me; it has contri-
buted greatly to my reputation. It is this same Curi-
anus who has left me the legacy I mentioned in the
beginning of my letter, which I received as a very
honorable mark of his approbation of my behavi-
our in this affair, so agreeable (if I do not flatter my-
self) to the true spirit of antient integrity. I have
given you this account, because in all my joys and
sorrows I look upon you as myself, and I thought
it would be unkind not to communicate to so tender a
friend whatever occasions me pleasure; as I confess
this circumstance has: for I do not pretend to such
refined strains of philosophy as to be indifferent,
when I think I have done honestly, whether my ac-
tions

tions meet with that approbation which is in some sort their reward. Farewel.

LETTER II. To FLACCUS.

THE * thrushes I received from you were so excellent, that my Laurentinum is not capable of supplying me with any thing, in this tempestuous season, either of the land or sea-kind, to make you a suitable return. I have only therefore to send you the ineffectual acknowledgements of a barren letter : an exchange more unequal, I confess, than that famous one of the subtle ^b Diomed. But your good-nature will so much the more readily grant me an excuse, as I own myself not to deserve one. Farewel.

(a) These birds, of which there are several sorts, were in high reputation among the Romans, and generally had a place upon all elegant tables.

(b) Alluding to the story in Hom. Il. 5. where Glaucus and Diomed having an interview between the two armies, they come to the knowledge of the friendship and hospitality which had formerly subsisted between their families; and Diomed proposes an exchange of their arms, as a token of reciprocal friendship:

*Now change we arms, and prove to either host,
We guard the friendship of the line we boast.*

Thus having said—

*Their hands they join, their mutual faith they plight ;
Brave Glaucus then each narrow thought resign'd
(Jove warm'd his bosom and enlarg'd his mind)
For Diomed's brajs arms of mean device,
For which nine oxen paid (a vulgar price)
He gave his own, of gold divinely wrought ;
An hundred beeves the shining purchase bought.*

Pope.

LETTER III. To ARISTO.

AMONGST the many agreeable and obliging instances I have received of your friendship, your not concealing from me the long conversation which lately passed at your house concerning my verses, and the various judgments pronounced upon them, is by no means the least. There were some, it seems, who did not disapprove of my poems, but at the same time censur'd me in a free and friendly manner, for employing myself in composing and reciting them. I am so far however, from desiring to extenuate the charge, that I willingly acknowledge myself still more deserving of it; and confess that sometimes amuse myself with writing verses, and verses too of the gayer kind. I compose comedies; divert myself with pantomines; read the Lyric poets; and enter into the spirit of the most wanton muse; in short, I am nothing averse to pleasantry, mirth, and gayety; and to sum up every kind of innocent amusement in one word, *I am a Man.* I am not at all displeased, that those who are ignorant that the most learned, the wisest, and the best of men have employed themselves in the same way, should be surprized at my doing so: But those who know what noble examples I follow, will allow me, I trust,

trust, thus to err ; but to err with those whom it is an honor to imitate, not only in their most serious actions, but lightest amusements. Is it unbecoming *me* (I will not name any living example, lest I should seem to flatter) but is it unbecoming me to practise what became Tully, Calvus, Pollio, Messala, Hortensius, Brutus, Sulla, Catulus, Scævola, Sulpitius, Varro, the Torquati, Memmius, Getulicus, Seneca, Lucceius, and in our own memory, Verginius Rufus ? But if the examples of private men are not sufficient to justify me, I can cite Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Nerva and Titus. I forbear to add Nero to the catalogue ; tho' I am sensible what is *sometimes* practised by the worst of men does not therefore degenerate into wrong ; on the contrary, it still maintains its credit, if frequently countenanced by the best. In that number Virgil, Cornelius Nepos, and prior to these, Ennius and Accius, justly deserve the most distinguished place. These last indeed were not senators, but virtue knows no distinction of rank or title. I recite my works, 'tis true, and in this I am not sure I can support myself by their examples. They, perhaps, might be satisfied with their own judgment ; but I have too humble an opinion of mine, to suppose my compositions sufficiently perfect, because they appear so to me. My reasons then for reciting are, that there is a certain reverence for one's audience, which fires the

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imagination and excites a more vigorous application ; and that I have by this means an opportunity of settling any doubts which I may have concerning my performance, by observing the general sentiments of my hearers. In a word, I have the advantage of receiving different hints from different persons : and tho' they should not declare their sentiments in express terms, yet the air of a countenance, the turn of a head or eye, the motion of a hand, a whisper, or even silence itself will easily distinguish their real judgment from the language of civility : so that if any one of my audience should have the curiosity to peruse the same performance which he heard me read, he may find several things altered or omitted and perhaps too upon *his* judgment, tho' he did not say a single word to me. But I am defending my conduct in this particular as if I had actually recited my works in public, and not in my own house before my friends ; a numerous appearance of whom, has upon many occasions been held an honor, but never surely a reproach. Farewell.

LETTER IV. To VALERIANUS.

THE fact which I am going to mention, tho' in itself of no great importance, may be attended with very considerable consequences. Sollers, a person of Prætorian rank, petitioned the senate for leave to hold a fair upon his estate. He was opposed in this by the deputies from the ^a Vicentini, who employed Tuscillius Nominatus as their counsel. The cause was adjourned ; and at the next meeting the deputies appeared unattended with their counsel, complaining that they had been *grossly deceived*: an expression, which whether it dropped from them in the warmth of resentment, or that they really thought so, I will not determine. Nepos the Prætor asked them who it was they had retained ? They replied, the same person who was counsel for them before. Being farther asked, whether he then appeared for them without any gratuity? they informed the house that they had given him ^b six thousand sesterces, and afterwards presented him with a second fee of one thousand ^c denarii. Upon which, Nepos moved that Nominatus should be ordered to attend. And this is all that was done in the affair that day ; but, unless I am greatly mistaken,

(a) Of Vicenza, a city in the territories of Venice.

(b) About 48l. of our money.

(c) About 30l. of our money.

mistaken, the enquiry will not end here ; for one may observe in several instances, the slightest beginnings have spread themselves to very remote consequences. And now I have sufficiently raised your curiosity, I imagine, to make you desirous I should inform you of the rest ; unless you should choose to gratify it by coming to Rome, and had rather see than read the sequel. Farewel.

LETTER V. To MAXIMUS.

I Am deeply afflicted with the news I have received of the death of Fannius, not only as I have lost in him a friend whose eloquence and politeness I admired, but a guide whose judgment I pursued ; and indeed he possessed a most penetrating genius, improved and quickened by great experience. There are some circumstances attending his death, which aggravate my concern ; he left behind him a will which had been made a considerable time, by which it happens his estate is fallen into the hands of those who had incurred his displeasure, while his greatest favorites have no share of it. But what I particularly regret is, that he has left unfinished a very noble work in which he was engaged. Notwithstanding his full employment at the bar, he had undertaken a history of those persons who had been put to death or banished by Nero ; of which he had perfect-

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ed three books. They are wrote with great delicacy and exactness ; the stile is pure, and preserves a proper medium between the plain narrative and the historical : and as they were very favorably received by the public, he was the more desirous of being able to compleat the rest. The hand of death is ever, in my estimation, too severe and too sudden when it falls upon such as are employ'd in some immortal work. The sons of pleasure, who have no views beyond the present hour, terminate every day the whole purpose of their lives ; but those who look forward to posterity, and endeavor to extend their memories to future generations by useful labors ; — to such, death is always immature, as it still snatches them from amidst some unfinished design. Fannius, long before his death, had a strong presentiment of what has happen'd : he dreamed one night, that as he was in his study with his papers before him, Nero came in, and placing himself by his side, took up the first book of this history, which he read thro', and so on to the third, and then went away. This dream greatly alarmed him, and he looked upon it as an intimation, that he should not carry on his history any farther than Nero had read : and so the event proved. I cannot reflect upon this accident without lamenting that he should not be able to accomplish a work, which had cost him so much pains and vigilance,

lance, as it suggests to me at the same time the thoughts of my own mortality, and the fate of my writings; and I am persuaded the same reflection alarms your apprehensions for those in which you are employed. Let us then, my friend, while yet we live, exert all our endeavors, that death when ever it arrives, may find as little as possible to destroy. Farewel.

LETTER VI. To APOLLINARIS.

THE kind concern you expressed when you heard of my design to pass the summer at my ^a villa in Tuscany, and your obliging endeavors to dissuade me from going to a place which you think unhealthy, is extremely agreeable to me.

I con-

(a) This was Pliny's principal seat, lying about one hundred and fifty miles from Rome, where he usually resided in the summer season. The reader will observe therefore, that he considers it in a very different manner from that of Laurentinum (his winter villa) both with respect to the situation and the house itself. Cluver in his Geography has placed this villa a little above *Tifernus Tiberinus*, now called *Citta di Castello*, where our author built a temple at his own expence. This has given room to * imagine that, possibly, there may be yet some remaining traces of this house to be discover'd in Tuscany, near a town which the Italians call *Sintignano*, in the neighborhood of *Ponte di San Stefano*, about ten miles north of an episcopal city called *Borgo di San Sepulcro*. If after having traversed this noble villa, the reader should be curious to know how Pliny disposed of his time, when he retired to it, he may turn to the 36th letter of the 9th Book.

* Plans par Félibien, p. 65.

I confess, indeed, the air of that part of Tuscany which lies towards the coast, is thick and unwholesome; but my house is situated at a great distance from the sea, under one of the *Apennine* mountains, which, of all others, is most esteemed for the clearness of its air. But that you may lay aside all apprehensions upon my account, I will give you a description of the temperature of the climate, the situation of the country, and the beauty of my villa, which I am persuaded you will hear with as much pleasure as I shall relate. The winters are severe and cold, so that myrtles, olives, and trees of that kind which delight in constant warmth, will not florish here; but it produces bay-trees^b in great

per-

(b) In the original it is *laurus*, which the ingenious Mr. Martyn, professor of botany in Cambridge, has given very strong reasons for believing is not the same tree with our laurel, but means the bay-tree. " Our laurel, (that author observes,) was " hardly known in Europe till the latter end of the 16th cen- " tury; about which time it seems to have been brought from " Trebizond to Constantinople, and from thence into most parts " of Europe. The laurel has no fine smell, which is a pro- " perty ascribed to the *laurus* by Virgil in the 2d Eclogue:

*Et vos, o lauri, carpam, et te proxime, myrtle,
Sic posita, quoniam suaves miscetis odores.*

And in the 6th Æneid :

Odoratum lauri nemus,

" Nor is the laurel remarkable for crackling in the fire, of
" which there is abundant mention with regard to the *Laurus*.
" These

perfection ; yet sometimes, tho' indeed not oftener than in the neighborhood of Rome, they are kill'd by the sharpnes of the seasons. The summers are exceedingly temperate, and continually attended with refreshing breezes, which are seldom interrupted by high winds. If you were to come here and see the numbers of old men who have lived to be Grand-fathers and Great-grand-fathers, and hear the stories they can entertain you with of their ancestors, you would fancy yourself born in some other age. The disposition of the country is the most beautiful that can be imagined : figure to your self an immense amphitheatre ; but such as the hand of nature could only form. Before you lies a vast extended plain bounded by a range of mountains, whose summits are crowned with lofty and venerable woods, which supply variety of game : from hence, as the mountains decline, they are adorned with under-woods. Intermix'd with these are little hills of so strong and fat a soil, that it would be difficult to find a single stone upon them ; their fertility is nothing inferior to the lowest grounds ; and tho' their harvest, indeed, is something later, their crops are as well matured. At the foot of these hills

" These characters agree very well with the Bay-tree, which
" seems to be most certainly the *Laurus* of the antients ; and is
" at this time frequent in the woods and hedges in Italy".
Notes upon Georg. 1. v. 306.

hills the eye is presented, wherever it turns, with one unbroken view of numberless vineyards, which are terminated by a border, as it were, of shrubs. From thence you have a prospect of the adjoining fields and meadows below. The soil of the former is so extremely stiff, and upon the first ploughing it rises in such vast clods, that it is necessary to go over it nine several times with the largest oxen and the strongest ploughs, before they can be thoroughly broken ; while the enamel'd meadows produce trefoil, and other kinds of herbage as fine and tender as if it were but just sprung up, being continually refreshed by never-failing rills. But tho' the country abounds with great plenty of water, there are no marshes ; for as it is a rising ground, whatever water it receives without absorbing, runs off into the Tiber. This river, which winds thro' the middle of the meadows, is navigable only in the winter and spring, when it transports the produce of the lands to Rome ; but its channel is so extremely low in summer, that it scarce deserves the name of a river ; towards the autumn however, it begins again to renew its claim to that title. You could not be more agreeably entertained, than by taking a view of the face of this country from the top of one of our neighboring mountains : you would imagine that not a real, but some painted landscape

lay before you, drawn with the most exquisite beauty and exactness ; such an harmonious and regular variety charms the eye which way soever it throws itself. My villa is so advantageously situated, that it commands a full view of all the country round ; yet you go up to it by so insensible a rise, that you find your self upon an elevation without perceiving you ascended. Behind, but at a great distance, stand the Apennine mountains. In the calmest days we are refreshed by the winds that blow from thence, but so spent, as it were, by the long tract of land they travel over, that they are entirely divested of all their strength and violence before they reach us. The exposition of the principal front of the house is full south, and seems to invite the afternoon sun in summer (but something earlier in winter) into a spacious and well-proportioned Portico, consisting of several members, particularly a porch built after the manner of the antients. In the front of the portico is a sort of terrace, embellished with various figures, and bounded with a box-hedge, from whence you descend by an easy slope, adorned with the representation of divers animals in box answering alternately to each other, into a lawn overspread with the soft, I had almost the said liquid ^a Acanthus : this is surrounded

(a) Sir William Temple supposes the *Acanthus* of the an-

ed by a walk inclosed with tonsile ever-greens, shaped into a variety of forms. Beyond it is the *Gestatio* laid out in the form of a 'circus, ornamented in the middle with box cut into numberless different figures, together with a plantation of shrubs prevented by the sheers from running up too high : The whole is fenced in with a wall covered by box, rising by different ranges to the top. On the outside of the wall lies a meadow that owes as many beauties to nature, as all I have been describing *within* does to art ; at the end of which are several other meadows and fields interspersed with thickets. At the extremity of the por-

antients to be what we call *Pericanthe*. Modern + botanists term it garden *bears-foot* ; but Mr. Castel in his observations upon this passage, with more probability, imagines by its character here that it resembles moss. See note p. 266.

(b) This walk is called in the original *Ambulatio*, as what I have ventured to translate a *Terrace*, is by Pliny termed *Xystus*. The *Ambulatio* seems to be what we properly call a walk ; the *Gestatio* was a place appropriated to taking of exercise in their vehicles, and the *Xystus* in its original signification, according to the definition given by *Vitruvius*, was a large portico wherein the athletic exercises were performed : tho' it is plainly used in this place for an open walk, ornamented much in the manner of our old-fashioned parterres ; but its being raised above the other walks which lay in the front, seems to justify its being called a *Terrace*.

(c) The *Circus* was a place set apart for the celebration of several

† See Martyn on Geo. 4. v. 123.

portico stands a grand dining-room, which opens upon one end of the terrace; as from the windows there is a very extensive prospect over the meadows up into the country, from whence you also have a view of the terrace and such parts of the house which project forward, together with the woods inclosing the adjacent^d hypodrome. Opposite almost to the center of the portico stands an apartment something backwards, which encompasses a small area, shaded by four plane-trees, in the midst of which a fountain rises, from whence the water running over the edges of a marble basin gently refreshes the surrounding plane-trees and the verdure underneath them. This apartment consists of a bed-chamber free from every kind of noise, and which the light itself cannot penetrate; together with a common dining-room that I use whenever I have none but familiar friends with me. A second portico looks upon this little area, and has the same prospect with the former I just now described. There is besides, another room, which being situated close to the nearest plane-tree, enjoys a constant shade and verdure: its sides are incrusted half way with carved marble,

several public games, particularly the chariot-race. Its form was generally oblong, having a wall quite round with ranges of seats for the convenience of spectators.

(d) A part of the garden, so called. See note (a) p. 264.

marble, and from thence to the ceiling a foliage is painted with birds intermixed among the branches, which has an effect altogether as agreeable as that of the carving ; at the basis of which is placed a little fountain, that playing thro' several small pipes into a vase, produces a most pleasing murmur. From a corner of the portico you enter into a very spacious chamber opposite to the grand dining-room, which from some of its windows has a view of the terrace, and from others of the meadow, as those in the front look upon a cascade, which entertains at once both the eye and the ear ; for the water falling from a great height, foams round the marble basin which receives it below. This room is extremely warm in winter, being much exposed to the sun, as in a cloudy day the heat of an adjoining stove very well supplies his absence. From hence you pass thro' a spacious and pleasant undressing-room into the cold-bath-room, in which is a large gloomy bath : but if you are disposed to swim more at large or in warmer water, in the middle of the area is a wide basin for that purpose, and near it a reservoir from whence you may be supplied with cold water to brace your self again, if you should perceive you are too much relaxed by the warm. Contiguous to the cold-bath is one of a middling degree of heat,

which enjoys the kindly warmth of the sun, but not so intensely as that of the hot-bath, which projects farther. This last consists of three several divisions, each of different degrees of heat; the too former lie open to the full sun, the latter, tho' not so much exposed to its heat, receives an equal share of its light. Over the undressing-room is built the tennis-court, which by means of different circles, admits of different kinds of games. Not far from the baths, is the stair-case which leads to the inclosed portico, after having first passed thro' three apartments: one of these looks upon the little area with the four plane-trees round it, the other has a sight of the meadows, and from the third you have a view of several vineyards; so that they have as many different prospects as expositions. At one end of the inclosed portico, and indeed taken off from it, is a chamber that looks upon the hypodrome, the vineyards and the mountains; adjoining is a room which has a full exposure to the sun, especially in winter; from hence runs an apartment that connects

(e) " These circles were probably no other than particular marks made on the floor, the success of their play depending on the ball's lighting in such a circle after it had been struck, which was the adversaries busines to prevent; and the many sorts of exercises this room was made for, might be diversified by lines or circles on the walls or floor; like the game of tennis, which tho' it takes up one entire room, may serve for several games of the like nature.

Castel's Remarks on Tuscum, p. 110.

nects the hypodrome with the house : and such is the form and aspect of the front. On the side is a summer inclosed portico which stands high, and has not only a prospect of the vineyards, but seems almost to touch them. From the middle of this portico you enter a dining-room cooled by the wholesome breezes which come from the Apennine valleys : from the windows in the back front, which are extremely large, there is a prospect of the vineyards, as you have also another view of them from the folding-doors thro' the summer portico : along that side of this dining-room where there are no windows, runs a private stair-case for the greater conveniency of serving at entertainments : at the farther end is a chamber from whence the eye is entertained with a view of the vineyards, and (what is equally agreeable) of the portico. Underneath this room is an inclosed portico something resembling a grotto, which enjoying in the midst of summer heats, its own natural coolness, neither admits nor wants the refreshment of external breezes. After you have passed both these porticos, at the end of the dining-room stands a third, which as the day is more or less advanced, serves either for winter or summer use. It leads to two different apartments, one containing four chambers, the other three, which enjoy by

turns both sun and shade. In the front of these agreeable buildings lies a very spacious Hypodrome^a, entirely open in the middle, by which means the eye, upon your first entrance, takes in its whole extent at one view. It is encompassed on every side with plane-trees covered with ^bivy, so that while their heads florish with their own green, their bodies enjoy a borrowed verdure ; and thus the ivy twining round the trunk and branches, spreads from tree to tree, and connects them together. Between each plane-tree are planted box-trees, and behind these, bay-trees, which blend their shade with that of the planes. This plantation, forming a straight boundary on both sides of the Hypodrome, bend at the farther end into a semi-circle, which being set round and shelter'd with cypress-trees, varies

(a) The *Hipodromus*, in its proper signification, was a place among the Grecians, set apart for horse-racing and other exercises of that kind. But it seems here to be nothing more than a particular walk to which Pliny, perhaps, gave that name from its bearing some resemblance in its form to the public places so called.

(b) "What the *Hederæ* were, that deserved a place in a garden, (says Sir William Temple in his Essay on Gardening) "I cannot guess, unless they had sorts of ivy unknown to us". But it does not seem necessary to have recourse to that supposition ; for there are two sorts among us, which are very beautiful plants, the one called the silver-striped ivy, the other the yellow variegated ivy. The former, perhaps, is the *pallentes Hederæ** of Virgil ; which epithet some of the critics, not attending to the different kinds of ivy, have injudiciously changed for *palantes*.

* Georg. 4.

ries the prospect, and casts a deeper and more gloomy shade ; while the inward circular walks (for there are several) enjoying an open exposure, are perfumed with roses, and correct by a very pleasing contrast, the coolness of the shade with the warmth of the sun. Having passed thro' these several winding-alleys, you enter a streight walk, which breaks out into a variety of others, divided off by box-hedges. In one place you have a little meadow ; in another the box is cut into a thousand different forms ; sometimes into letters, expressing the name of the master ; sometimes that of the artificer ; while here and there little obelisks rise intermixed alternately with fruit-trees : when on a sudden, in the midst of this elegant regularity, you are surprized with an imitation of the negligent beauties of rural nature ; in the center of which lies

(c) Here seems to begin what we properly call the *Garden*, and is the only description of a *Roman* one which is come down to us. Virgil indeed mentions that of his Corycian friend's, but he only gives an account of the plants which that contented old man cultivated, without describing the form in which his little spot was laid out.

(d) It is very remarkable that this false taste in gardening, so justly rejected by modern improvements in that agreeable art, was introduced among the Romans at a time, when one should little expect to meet with any inelegancies in the polite refinements of life. Matius, the friend of Julius Cæsar, and peculiar favorite of Augustus, of whom there is still extant a letter to Cicero; greatly admired for the beauty of its sentiments and expression, is said to have first taught his countrymen this monstrous method of distorting nature, by cutting trees into regular forms. Columel. l. 12. c. 44.

lies a spot surrounded with a knot of dwarf ^e plane-trees. Beyond these is a walk interspersed with the smooth and twining ^f acanthus, where the trees are also cut into a variety of names and shapes. At the upper end is an alcove of white marble, shaded with vines supported by four small Cary-

stian

(e) The plane-tree was extremely cultivated among the Romans upon account of its extraordinary shade, and they used to nourish it with ^{*} wine instead of water, believing (as an ingenious author § observes) “ This tree loved that liquor, as well “ as those who used to drink under its shade”. Virgil mentions it as *ministrantem—potantibus umbras*, Georg. 4.

(f) It is probable the Acanthus here mentioned is not the same plant with that described above ; it is certain at least there were different sorts of them. It seems to be of the kind which Virgil speaks of in the 4th Georg :

Aut flexi tacuisse vimen Acanthi ;

Whatever that was, which is by no means clear, the ingenious Botanist mentioned before, supposes it to be *Brank-ur sine*, and that Dryden was mistaken in translating this passage :

————— The winding *Trail*
Of Bearsfoot.————

For, says he, it is by no means a trailing plant. But there is reason, it should seem, to believe the contrary ; for it is not very probable, that Virgil should use the epithet *Flexus* in allusion, as this gentleman imagines, to the story of the tile and the basket, which gave the first hint to the inventor of the Corinthian capital. It is much more likely and natural that he should join an epithet to Acanthus, which denoted a certain general quality attending it, than any foreign accidental circumstance, especially one so extremely remote. And this conjecture seems to be strongly supported by Pliny's calling it *Flexuosus*.

* Plin. Hist. Nat.

§ Sir William Temple.

ftian ^b pillars. From this bench the water gushing thro' several little pipes, as if it were pressed out by the weight of the persons who repose themselves upon it, falls into a stone cistern underneath, from whence it is received into a fine polished marble-bason, so artfully contrived, that it is always full without ever overflowing. When I sup here, this bason serves for a table, the larger sort of dishes being placed round the margin, while the smaller ones swim about in the form of little vessels and water-fowl. Corresponding to this, is a fountain which is incessantly emptying and filling; for the water which it throws up a great height, falling back again into it, is by means of two openings returned as fast as it is received. Fronting the alcove (and which reflects as great an ornament to it, as it borrows from it) stands a summer-house of exquisite marble, whose doors project and open into a green enclosure; as from its upper and lower windows the eye is presented with a variety of different verdures. Next to this is a little private closet (which tho' it seems distinct, may be laid into

the

(b) This marble came from Carystus (now called Caristo) in Eubœa, an island in the Archipelago, which has since changed its name into Negroponte. From hence likewise, it is said, the Romans fetched that famous stone out of which they spun a sort of incombustible cloth, wherein they wrapped the bodies of their dead, and thereby preserved their ashes distinct and unmixed with those of the funeral pile.

the same room) furnished with a couch ; and notwithstanding it has windows on every side, yet it enjoys a very agreeable gloominess, by means of a spreading vine which climbs to the top, and entirely over-shades it. Here you may lie and fancy yourself in a wood, with this difference only, that you are not exposed to the weather: in this place a fountain also rises and instantly disappears: in different quarters are disposed several marble-seats, which serve, as well as the summer-house, as so many reliefs after one is wearied with walking. Near each seat is a little fountain ; and throughout the whole hypodrome several small rills run murmuring along, wheresoever the hand of art thought proper to conduct them, watering here and there different spots of verdure, and in their progress refreshing the whole.

And now, I should not have hazarded the imputation of being too minute in this detail, if I had not proposed to lead you into every corner of my house and gardens. You will hardly I imagine, think it a trouble to read the description of a place, which I am persuaded would please you were you to see; especially as you have it in your power to stop, and by throwing aside my letter, sit down as it were, and rest yourself as often as you think proper. I had at the same time a view to the gratification

tification of my own passion ; as I confess, I have a very great one for this villa, which was chiefly built or finished by myself. In a word (for why should I conceal from my friend my sentiments whether right or wrong ?) I look upon it as the first duty of every writer frequently to throw his eyes upon his title-page, and to consider well the subject he has proposed to himself ; and he may be assured if he closely pursues his plan he cannot justly be thought tedious ; but on the contrary, if he suffers himself to be carried off from it, he will most certainly incur that censure. Homer, you know, has employ'd many verses in the description of the arms of Achilles, as Virgil also has in those of Æneas ; yet neither of them are prolix, because they both keep within the limits of their original design. Aratus, you see, is not esteemed too circumstantial, tho' he traces and enumerates the minutest stars ; for he does not go out of his way for that purpose, he only follows where his subject leads him. In the same manner (to compare small things with great) if endeavoring to give you an idea of my house, I have not wander'd into any thing foreign, or, as it were, devious, it is not my letter which describes, but my villa which is described, that is to be deem'd large. But not to dwell any longer upon this digression, lest I should myself be condemned by the maxim

I have just laid down ; I have now informed you why I prefer my Tuscan villa, to those which I possess at^g Tusculum,^h Tiber,ⁱ and Præneste. Besides the advantages already mentioned, I here enjoy a more profound retirement, as I am at a farther distance from the business of the town, and the interruption of troublesome avocations. All is calm and composed ; which contributes, no less than its clear air and unclouded sky, to that health of body and clearfulness of mind which I particularly enjoy there : both of which I keep in proper exercise by study and hunting. And indeed there is no place which agrees better with all my family in general ; I am sure at least, I have not yet lost one (and I speak it with the sentiments I ought) of all those I brought with me hither : and may heaven long continue that happiness to *me*, and that honor to my *villa* ! Farewel.

(g) Now called Frascati, (h) Tivoli, (i) and Palestrina, all of them situated in the *Campagna di Roma*, and at no great distance from Rome.

LETTER VII. To CALVISIUS.

IT is certain the law does not allow a corporate city to inherit any estate by will, or to receive a legacy. Saturninus however, who has appointed me his heir, had left a fourth part of his estate to our corporation of Comum ; which devise he afterwards changed into an absolute legacy of 400,000^a sesterces. This bequest, in a legal view, is undoubtedly void ; but considered as the clear and express will of the dead, ought to stand firm and valid : a consideration in my opinion (tho' I am afraid the lawyers will not be pleased with what I say) of higher regard than any law whatsoever, especially when the interest of one's country is concerned. It would be extremely inconsistent in me, who made them a present of eleven hundred thousand^b sesterces out of my own patrimony to with-hold from them a benefaction of little more than a third part of that sum, out of an estate which is entirely adventitious. You, who like a true patriot, have the same affection for this our common country, will join with me, I dare say, in these sentiments. I wish therefore you would, at the next assembly of the Decurii, acquaint them, in a respectful

(a) About 3,200 l. of our money.

(b) About 8,800 l.

spectful manner, how the law stands in this case, and at the same time let them know that I shall not take advantage of it, but will pay them the 400,000 sesterces according to the directions in the will of Saturninus. You will represent it as *bis* present and *bis* liberality ; I only claim the merit of complying with his request. I forbear writing to their senate concerning this affair, fully relying upon your friendship and prudence, and being assured that you are both able and willing to act for me upon this occasion as I would for myself ; besides I am afraid I should not seem to have preserved that just medium in my letter, which you will much easier be able to do in a speech. The countenance, the gesture, and even the tone of the voice governs and determines the sense of the speaker ; whereas a letter being destitute of these advantages, is more liable to the malignant interpretation of those who are inclined to pervert its meaning. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. To CAPITO.

YOU are not singular in the advice you give me to undertake the writing of history ; it is a work which has been frequently pressed upon me by several others of my friends ; and what I have

have some thoughts of engaging in. Not that I have any confidence of succeeding in this way ; that would be too rashly presuming upon the success of an experiment which I have never yet made ; but because it is a noble employment to rescue from oblivion those who deserve to be eternally remembered, and extend the reputation of others, at the same time that we advance our own. Nothing, I confess, so strongly affects me as the desire of a lasting name : a passion highly worthy of the human breast, especially to one, who being conscious to himself of no ill, is not afraid of being known to posterity. It is the continual subject therefore of my thoughts :

a By what fair deed I too may raise a name ;

for to that I moderate my wishes ; the rest,

And gather round the world immortal fame,

is beyond my hopes :

*b Tho' yet — — however the first is sufficient,
and History perhaps is the single means that can
assure*

(a) Virgil. i. Georg.

(b) Part of a verse from the fifth Æneid, where Menestheus one of the competitors in the naval games, who was in some danger of being distanced, exhorts his men to exert their utmost

assure it to me. Oratory and Poetry, unless carried to the highest point of eloquence, are talents but of small recommendation to those who possess them; but History however executed is always entertaining. Mankind are naturally inquisitive; and are so fond of having this turn gratified, that they will listen with attention to the plainest matter of fact, and the most idle tale. But besides this, I have an example in my own family that inclines me to engage in this study, my uncle and adoptive father ^c having acquired great reputation as a very accurate historian; and the philosophers, you know, recommend it to us to tread in the steps of our ancestors, when they have gone before us in the right path. If you ask me then, why I do not immediately enter upon the task? My reason is this: I have pleaded some very important causes, and (tho'

I am

most vigor to prevent such a disgrace. The reader, perhaps, will not be displeased to see the whole passage, as it is excellently translated by Mr. Pit; which I am the more inclined to transcribe, not only as it will shew the propriety of my author's application of this verse; but as I am glad of any opportunity of quoting from a poet whose translation of the *Aeneid* does honor to the English language.

*Now, now, my friends, your utmost pow'r display,
 Rise to your oars, and sweep the wat'ry way:
 Tho' yet—but ah! let those the palm obtain,
 Those whom thy favors crown, great monarch of the
 main!*
}
*But to return the lags of all the day,
 Oh! wipe, my friends, that shameful stain away.*

(c) See Book III. Let. v.

I am not extremely sanguine in my hopes concerning them) I have determined to revise my speeches, lest for want of this remaining labor, all the pains they cost me should be thrown away, and they with their author be buried in oblivion : for with respect to posterity, the work that was never finished, was never begun. You will think, perhaps, I might correct my pleadings and write history at the same time. I wish indeed, I were capable of doing so, but they are both such great undertakings, that either of them is abundantly sufficient. I was but nineteen when I first appeared at the bar ; and yet it is only now at last I understand (and that in truth but imperfectly) what is essential to a complete orator. How then shall I be able to support the weight of an additional burthen? It is true, indeed, history and oratory have in many points a general resemblance ; yet in those very things in which they seem to agree, there are several circumstances wherein they differ. Narration is common to them both ; but it is a narration of a different kind. The former contents it self frequently with low and vulgar facts ; the latter requires every thing splendid, elevated and extraordinary : strength and nerves is sufficient in *that*, but beauty and ornament is essential to *this* : the excellency of the one consists in a strong, se-

vere and close stile ; of the other, in a diffusive, flowing and harmonious narration : in short, the words, the emphasis, and whole turn and structure of the periods are extremely different in these two arts. For, as Thucydides observes, there is a wide distance between compositions which are calculated for a *present purpose*, and those which are designed to remain as *lasting monuments* to posterity ; by the first of which expressions he alludes to Oratory, and by the other to History. For these reasons I am not inclined to blend together two performances of such distinct natures, which, as they are both of the highest rank, necessarily therefore require a separate attention ; lest, confounded by a crowd of different ideas, I should introduce into the one what is only proper to the other. Therefore, (to speak in our language of the bar) I must beg leave *the cause may be adjourned some time longer*. In the mean while, I refer it to your consideration from what period I shall commence my history. Shall I take it up from those remote times which have been treated of already by others ? In this way, indeed, the materials will be ready prepared to my hands, but the collating of the several historians will be extremely troublesome : or, shall I write only of the present times, and those wherein no other author

thor has gone before me? If so, I may probably give offence to many, and please but few. For, in an age so over-run with vice, you will find infinitely more to condemn than approve; yet your praise, tho' ever so lavish, will be thought too reserved; and your censure, tho' ever so cautious, too profuse. However, this does not at all discourage me; for I want not sufficient resolution to bear testimony to truth. I expect then, that you prepare the way which you have pointed out to me, and determine what subject I shall fix upon for my history, that when I am ready to enter upon the task you have assigned me, I may not be delayed by any new difficulty. Farewel.

LETTER IX. To SATURNINUS.

YOUR letter made very different impressions upon me, as it brought me news which I both rejoiced and grieved to receive. It gave me pleasure when it informed me you were detained in Rome; which tho' you will tell me is a circumstance that affords you none, yet I cannot but rejoice at it, since you assure me you continue there upon my account, and defer the recital of your work till my return; for which I am greatly obliged to you. But I was much concerned at

that part of your letter which mentioned the dangerous illness of Julius Valens ; tho', indeed, with respect to himself it ought to affect me with other sentiments, as it cannot but be for his advantage the sooner he is relieved by death, from a distemper of which there is no hopes he can ever be cured. But what you add concerning Avitus, who died in his return from the province where he had been Quæstor, is an accident that justly demands our sorrow. That he died on board-a-ship, at a distance from his brother whom he tenderly loved, and from his mother and sisters, are circumstances, which tho' they cannot affect him now, yet undoubtedly did in his last moments, as well as tend to heighten the affliction of those he has left behind. How severe is the reflection, that a youth of his well-form'd disposition should be extinct in the prime of life, and snatch'd from those high honors to which his virtues, had they been permitted to grow to their full maturity, would certainly have rais'd him ! How did his bosom glow with the love of the fine arts ! How many books has he perused ! how many volumes has he transcribed ! But the fruits of his labors are now perished with him, and for ever lost to posterity. — Yet why indulge my sorrow ? a passion which, if we once give a loose to, will aggravate every the slightest circumstance. I will put an end therefore to my letter, that I may

to

to the tears which yours has drawn from me.

Farewel.

LETTER X. To ANTONINUS.

I Am never more sensible of the superior excellency of your verses, than when I endeavor to imitate them. As the hand of the painter must always fail, when perfect beauty fits for the picture ; so I labor to catch the graces of my original, but still fall short of them. Let me conjure you then to continue to supply us with many more such excellent models, which every man must wish to imitate, but few, perhaps none, will be able to equal.

Farewel.

LETTER XI. To TRANQUILLUS.

IT is time you should acquit the promise my verses gave to our common friends of your works. The world is every day impatiently enquiring after them, and there is some danger of your being summoned in form to give an account of your delay. I am myself a good deal backward in publishing, but you are even still slower. You must hasten your hand, however, otherwise the severity of my satire may perhaps extort from you, what the blandishments of my sof-

ter muse could not obtain. Your work is already arrived to that degree of perfection, that the file can only weaken, not polish it. Allow me then the pleasure of seeing your name in the title-page of a book, and suffer the works of my dear Tranquillus to be recited and transcribed, to be bought and read. It is but fair, and agreeable to our mutual friendship, that you should give me in return the same pleasure you receive from me. Farewel,

LETTER XII. To FABATUS^a.

YOUR letter informs me that you have erected a noble^b public portico, as a memorial of yourself and your son, and that the next day after the ceremony of opening of it, you engaged to repair and beautify the gates of our city

at

(a) Grand-father to Calphurnia, Pliny's wife.

(b) These porticos, which were carried to an extreme degree of magnificence, served for various uses: sometimes for the assembly of the senate, sometimes for stands of the most curious merchandize. But the general use they were put to was, the pleasure of walking in them; like the present piazza's in Italy. [Fabrjc. Descrip. Rom. c. 13.] Here likewise works of genius were publicly recited, and the philosophers held their disputations. The famous Pœcile Portico, or picture gallery at Athens, must have afforded the noblest scene of this kind imaginable, to a lover of the imitative arts, Polygnotus, Panænus, and all the great masters of that refined age, having contributed to embellish it with the finest productions of their pencils. Vid. Mœurs Ath. At. I. 1. c. 5.

at your own charge: thus it is that you rise from one act of munificence to another! I take part, believe me, in every thing that concerns your glory; which from the alliance that is between us, in some degree redounds to mine; and am pleased to see the memory of my father-in-law delivered down to posterity by such beautiful structures. I rejoice too, at the honor that hereby arises to our native province; and as every thing that tends to her advantage is highly agreeable to me, by what hand soever it may be conferred, so particularly when it is by yours. I have only to desire that heaven would continue to cherish in you this generous frame of mind, and to grant you many years in which to exert it: for your bounty, I am well persuaded, will not terminate here, but extend itself to farther acts of beneficence. Generosity, when once she is set forward, knows not how to stop her progress; as the more familiar we are with the lovely form, the more enamored we grow of her engaging charms. Farewel.

L E T.

LETTER XIII. To SCAURUS.

HAVING thoughts of publishing a little speech which I have composed, I invited some of my friends whose judgments I revere, to attend the recital of it; tho' at the same time, that I might be more secure of hearing the truth of their sentiments, I selected only a small number: for I have a double view in these rehearsals; the first is, that the zealous solicitude of approving myself to my audience may inflame my imagination; the next, that those errors which a partiality to myself may conceal from my own observation, be pointed out to me. I succeeded in my design, and my friends obliged me with their sincere opinions; as I likewise observed myself some passages which required correction. I send you the piece therefore as I have now altered it. The occasion of it will appear from the title, and for the rest I refer you to the speech itself, which I hope you will peruse so carefully, as not to stand in need of a preface to explain it. I beg you would sincerely tell me your sentiments of the whole, and of its several parts. I shall be more inclined to suppress or publish it, as your judgment shall decide either way. Farewel.

LET-

Chrysostomus viningus has done all in his power
to a LETTER XIV. To VALENTIANUS.

YOU desire me to inform you (agreeably ^a to my promise) what success attended Nepos in his accusation of Tuscillius Nominatus. The latter being brought before the senate, pleaded his own cause, tho' indeed no body appeared to support the accusation. On the contrary, the deputies from the Vicentini were so far from pursuing their charge, that they favored his defence. The sum of what he urged in his own behalf was ; " That it was his courage and " not his integrity had failed him ; that he set " out with a design of pleading the cause, and ac- " tually came into the senate for that purpose, but " being discouraged by his friends, he with- " drew himself ; that they dissuaded him from per- " fusing to oppose (especially in the senate) the in- " clinations of a senator, who did not now contend " so much for the fair itself, as for his own credit and " character, which he look'd upon as concerned " in this cause ; that if he did not desist, he would " suffer greater indignities than in his former plead- " ing." (And indeed there were some, tho' but a few, who express'd high indignation at his speech.) He proceeded to implore the clemency of the senate

with

(a) See letter the 4th of this book.

with tears in his eyes ; and prudently endeavor'd throughout his whole speech (as he is a man extremely well versed in the arts of oratory) to appear rather to sue for pardon than justice. Afranius Dexter, the consul elect, was for acquitting him. The purport of his sentiments was to this effect : " That Nomentanus would have acted more prudently if he had gone thro' the cause of the Vicentini with the same resolution he began it ; however, since it did not appear he had been guilty of this neglect with any fraudulent design, and that he had not been convicted of any thing which merited public animadversion, it was his opinion he ought to be acquitted : but that he should return to the Vicentini whatever gratuity he had received from them". This motion was approved by the whole house, except Flavius Aper : his opinion was, that he should be suspended from exercising the profession of an advocate for five years ; and tho' he could not bring any over to his sentiments, he resolutely persisted in them : he even obliged Dexter, who spoke first on the opposite side, to take his oath that he thought his motion was for the benefit of the republic ; agreeable to a law which he produced concerning the assembling of the senate. But this, tho' it was certainly legal, was opposed by some, who thought it a reflection upon

upon Dexter, as if he had been unduely influenced in his sentiments. But before the votes of the house were collected, Nigrinus, a tribune of the people, read a very elegant and sensible remonstrance, wherein he strongly complained that the profession of the law was become venal, and that the advocates took money, even to betray the cause of their clients ; that they made a shameful trade of their function ; and instead of honor, which was formerly their only reward, they now lived upon the spoils of their fellow-citizens, from whom they received large and annual salaries. He gave the house a summary account of the laws which had been made upon this subject, and reminded them likewise of the decrees of the senate to the same purpose : and he concluded with observing, that since both the authority of the laws and of the senate had been contemned, it was highly necessary to address the emperor that he would be pleased himself to interpose, and provide some remedy to so great an evil. Accordingly a few days after, an edict was published, drawn up with a proper mixture of mildness and severity ; for which I refer you to the journals of the public^a. I cannot but congratulate myself upon this occasion, that in all the causes

(a) See B. 7. let. 33. in not.

causes in which I have been concerned, I never made any bargain, or received any fee, reward, or even present whatsoever. One ought, no doubt, to avoid whatever is mean and unworthy, not so much because it is illegal, as because it is dishonorable. But still there is great satisfaction in finding the legislature levelling its prohibitions against a practice, which one never suffered one's self to fall into. The glory indeed of my conduct may, or rather most certainly will, be considerably eclipsed, when this practice shall universally prevail by necessity, which I always pursued by choice. In the mean time, however, I enjoy the pleasure of my friends jests, while some tell me I certainly foresaw this edict; and others, that it was particularly levelled against my avarice and rapine. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. To PONTIUS.

IWas at Cœmum when I heard that Cornutus Tertullus was appointed surveyor^a of the Æmilian way. This news was inexpressibly agreeable to me,

(a) This was an office of great dignity among the Romans, and usually conferred upon those who had been consuls. Thus Cæsar is mentioned by Plutarch as surveyor of the Appian way. These roads extended to a great distance from the city on all sides, the most noble of which was the Appian, computed to reach three hundred and fifty miles. Mr. Wright in his travels speaking of this road, observes, that "tho' it be much
" broken

me, both upon his account and my own : upon his, because tho' ambition should be, as it certainly is, far remov'd from his heart, yet it cannot but be agreeable to him to receive so great an honor without seeking it ; upon mine, because it heightens the satisfaction which results from my own office, to see a man of so distinguished a character as Cornutus raised to one of the same ^b nature ; for to be placed in the same rank with the good, is a pleasure equal to being honor'd with the highest dignities. And where indeed is the man who exceeds Cornutus in worth and virtue ? or whose conduct is a more express model of antient manners ? In this I do not find my judgment upon fame, which however, with great justice, speaks of him in the highest terms ; but upon long and frequent experience. We have ever been joined in the same friendships with the most shining characters in both sexes, which this age has produced : an union that cemented us in the strictest intimacy. To these private ties were added those of a more public nature : he was,

you

" broken in several places, and travelling over it very bad, in o-
" thers it is wonderfully well preserved, notwithstanding it be com-
" puted near two thousand years old. They are paved with such
" hard stones, that they are rather polished than worn, and so
" well joined, that in some places the whole breadth of the way
" seems one intire piece."

(b) It appears by some antient inscriptions still remaining, that Pliny was surveyor of the river Tiber and its banks, to which office it is probable he here alludes.

you know, my colleague in the treasury, as well as the consulship. These were opportunities of gaining a thorough knowledge of his uncommon virtues ; when I followed him as a guide, and revered him as a parent ; and *that* not so much upon account of his age, as his merit. I rejoice therefore no less for my own sake than his ; and I do so upon a public as well as private consideration, since virtue is now no longer, as formerly ^a, exposed to the most cruel dangers, but advanced to the noblest dignities. But if I were to indulge the joyous sentiments I feel upon this occasion, I should never have finished my letter. Let me turn then to an account of what I was doing when your messenger arrived. He found me with my wife's grandfather and aunt, together with several other friends, whose company I had not enjoyed for a considerable time : I was traversing my grounds, hearing the complaints of the farmers, running over their tedious accounts, and had before me papers and letters far different from those to which my inclination early devoted me ; in short, I was preparing to return to Rome. For I have obtained but a short leave of absence ; and indeed the news of this office being conferred on Cornelius, reminds me to hasten

to

(a) Alluding to the times of Nero and Domitian.

to the duties of my own. I hope your favorite *Campania* will resign you about the same time, so that when I return to Rome, not a day may be lost to our friendly intercourse. Farewel.

LETTER XVI. To MARCELLINUS.

I Write this to you under the utmost oppression of sorrow : the youngest daughter of my friend Fundanus is dead ! never surely was there a more agreeable and more amiable young person, or one who better deserved to have enjoyed a long, I had almost said, an immortal life ! She was scarce fourteen, and yet had all the wisdom of age and discretion of a matron, joined with youthful sweetness and virgin modesty. With what an engaging fondness did she behave to her father ! how kindly and respectfully receive his friends ! how affectionately treat all those who, in their respective offices, had the care and education of her ! She employed much of her time in reading, in which she discovered great strength of judgment ; she indulged herself in few diversions, and those with much caution. With what forbearance, with what patience, with what courage did she endure her last illness ! she complied with all the directions of her physicians ; she encourag-

ed her sister, and her father; and when all her strength of body was exhausted, supported herself by the single vigor of her mind. That, indeed, continued even to her last moments, unbroken by the pain of a long illness, or the terrors of approaching death; and it is a reflection which makes the loss of her so much the more to be lamented. A loss infinitely severe! and more severe by the particular conjuncture in which it happened! she was contracted to a most worthy youth; the wedding day was fixed, and we were all invited. How sad a change from the highest joy, to the deepest sorrow! How shall I express the wound that pierced my heart, when I heard Fundanus himself (as grief is ever finding out circumstances to aggravate its melancholy) ordering the money he had designed to lay out upon cloaths and jewels for her marriage, to be employed in myrrh and spices for her funeral? He is a man of great learning and good sense, who has applied himself from his earliest youth, to the nobler and most elevated studies; but all the maxims of fortitude which he has received from books, or advanced himself, he now absolutely rejects, and every other virtue of his heart gives place to all a parent's tenderness. You will excuse, you will even approve his sorrow, when you consider what he has lost. He has lost

a daughter who resembled him in his manners, as well as his person, and exactly copied out all her father. If you shall think proper to write to him upon the subject of so reasonable a grief, let me remind you not to use the rougher arguments of consolation, and such as seem to carry a sort of reproof with them, but those of kind and sympathizing humanity. Time will render him more open to the dictates of reason: for as a fresh wound shrinks back from the hand of the surgeon, but by degrees submits to, and even requires the means of its cure; so a mind under the first impressions of a misfortune shuns and rejects all arguments of consolation, but at length, if applied with tenderness, calmly and willingly acquiesces in them. Farewel.

LETTER XVII. To SPURINNA.

KNOWING, as I do, how much you admire the polite arts, and what satisfaction you take in seeing young men of quality pursue the steps of their ancestors, I seize this earliest opportunity of informing you, that I went to day to hear Calpurnius Piso read a poem he has composed upon a very bright and learned subject, entitled the *Constellations*. His numbers, which were ele-

giac, were soft, flowing and easy, at the same that they had all the sublimity suitable to such a noble topic. He varied his stile from the lofty to the simple, from the close to the copious, from the grave to the florid, with equal genius and judgment. These beauties were extremely heightened and recommended by a most harmonious voice; which a very becoming modesty render'd still more pleasing. A confusion and concern in the countenance of a speaker throws a grace upon all he utters; for there is a certain decent timidity which, I know not how, is infinitely more engaging than the assured and self-sufficient air of confidence. I might mention several other circumstances to his advantage, which I am the more inclined to take notice of, as they are most striking in a person of his age, and most uncommon in a youth of his quality: but not to enter into a farther detail of his merit, I will only tell you, that when he had finished his poem, I embraced him with the utmost complacency; and being perswaded that nothing is a greater encouragement than applause, I exhorted him to persevere in the paths he had entered, and to shine out to posterity with the same glorious lustre, which reflected from his ancestors to himself. I congratulated his excellent mother, and his brother, who gained as much honor by the generous affection he discovered upon this occasion, as Calpurnius did by his

his eloquence ; so remarkable a concern he shewed for him when he began to recite his poem, and so much pleasure in his success. May the gods grant me frequent occasions of giving you accounts of this nature ! for I have a partiality to the age in which I live, and should rejoice to find it not barren of merit. To this end, I ardently wish our young men of quality would not derive all their glory from the * images of their ancestors. As for those which are placed in the house of these excellent youths, I now figure them to myself as silently applauding and encouraging their pursuits, and (what is a sufficient degree of honor to them both) as owning and confessing them to be their kindred. Farewel.

LETTER XVIII. To MACER.

ALL is well with me, since it is so with you. You are happy, I find, in the company of your wife and son ; and are enjoying the pleasures of the sea, the freshness of the fountains, the verdure of the fields, and the elegancies of a most agreeable villa :

(a) None had the right of using family pictures or statues, but those whose ancestors or themselves had borne some of the highest dignities. So that the *jus imaginis* was much the same thing among the Romans, as the right of bearing a coat of arms among us. Ken. antiqu.

for so I judge it to be, since^a He who was most happy e'er fortune had raised him to what is generally esteemed the highest point of human felicity, chose it for the place of his retirement. As for myself, I am employed at my Tuscan villa in hunting, and studying, sometimes alternately, and sometimes both together^b; but I am not yet able to determine in which pursuit it is most difficult to succeed. Farewel.

LETTER XIX. To PAULINUS.

AS I know the humanity with which you treat your own servants, I do not scruple to confess to you the indulgence I shew to mine. I have ever in my mind Homer's^c character of Ulysses,

Who ruled his people with a father's love :

And the very expression^d in our language for the head of a family, suggests the rule of one's conduct towards it. But were I naturally of a rough and hardened cast of temper, the ill state of health of my freed-man Zosimus (who has the stronger claim

(a) It is supposed by some commentators, that Pliny alludes here to Nerva, who being suspected by Domitian, was ordered by that emperor to retire to Tarentum, where without any views of reigning, he quietly sat down in the enjoyment of a private life; others imagine that he means Sulla.

(b) See B. 1. let. 6. and the note there.

(c) Odys. l. 5. § 1.

(d) The Latin Word for a master of a family, implies a *father* of a family.

claim to a humane treatment at my hands, as he now stands much in need of it) would be sufficient to soften me. He is a person of great worth, diligent in his services, and well skilled in literature; but his chief talent, and indeed his profession, is that of a comedian, wherein he highly excels. He speaks with great emphasis, judgment, propriety, and gracefulness: he has a very good hand too upon the lyre, which he understands better than is necessary for one of his profession. To this I must add, he reads history, oratory, and poetry, as well as if he had singly applied himself to that art. I am the more particular in enumerating his qualifications, to let you see how many agreeable services I receive from him. He is indeed endeared to me by the ties of long affection, which seems to be heightened by the danger he is now in. For nature has so formed our hearts, that nothing contributes more to raise and enflame our inclination for any enjoyment, than the apprehension of being deprived of it: a sentiment which Zosimus has given me occasion to experience more than once. Some years ago he strained himself so much by too vehement an exertion of his voice, that he spit blood, upon which account I sent him into Egypt; from

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whence,

(c) The Roman physicians used to send their patients in consumptive cases into Egypt, particularly to Alexandria.

whence, after a long absence, he lately returned with great benefit to his health. But having again exerted himself for several days together beyond his strength, he was reminded of his former malady by a slight return of his cough, and a spitting of blood. For this reason I intend to send him to your farm at ^d Forum-Julii, having frequently heard you mention it as an exceeding fine air, and recommend the milk of that place as very good in disorders of this nature. I beg you would give directions to your people to receive him into your house, and to supply him with what he shall have occasion for; which will not be much, for he is so temperate as not only to abstain from delicacies, but even to deny himself the necessaries his ill state of health requires. I shall furnish him towards his journey with what will be sufficient for one of his abstemious turn, who is coming under your roof. Farewel.

LETTER XX. To URSUS.

SOON after the Bithynians had gone through with their prosecution of Julius Bassus, they also impeached their late governor Rufus Varenus; who was but just before, (and that too at their own

(d) Frejus in Provence, the southern part of France.

request)

request) appointed counsel for them against Bassus. Being introduced into the senate, they petitioned, that an enquiry might be made into his conduct. Varenus, on the other hand, begged all proceedings might be stopped till he could send for the witnesses necessary to his defence; but this being opposed by the Bithynians, that point was debated. I was counsel (and no unsuccessful one) for Varenus; but whether a good one or not, you will judge when you read my speech. Fortune has a very considerable share in the event of every cause: the quickness, the voice, the manner of the advocate, even the circumstance of time itself; in a word, the general disposition of the senate, as it is either favorable or adverse to the accused, all conspire to influence the success. But when a speech is read in the closet, it is stripped of all these external circumstances, and has nothing to fear or hope from favor or prejudice, from lucky or unlucky accidents. Fonteius Magius, one of the Bithynians, replied to me with great pomp of words, and little to the purpose: a character applicable to many of the Greek orators, as well as himself. They mistake volubility for copiousness, and thus overwhelm you with an endless torrent of

cold

cold and unaffected periods ^e. Julius Candidus used, not improperly, to say, that *eloquence is one thing, and loquacity another*. Eloquence indeed is the privilege of very few ; nay, if we will believe Marcus Antonius, of none ^f ; but that faculty which Candidus calls *loquacity*, is common to numbers, and the talent which generally attends impudence. The next day, Homulus spoke for Varenus with great art, strength, and elegance ; to whom Nigrinus made a very close, solid, and

grace-

(e) This verbose and turgid stile, which Pliny here condemns, the elegant Petronius likewise mentions with equal contempt, and represents it as having first began to infect the purity of Attic eloquence, about his time. This false species of oratory spread to Athens from Asia,¹ where the swelling and highly figurative stile has prevailed, from the earliest accounts we have of those people, to this day. Vid. Petron. satir. in init.

(f) The great masters among the ancients, in eloquence, as well as those in all other the fine arts, heated their imaginations with a certain ideal perfection, which as they could not explain in what it consisted, so neither, they owned, could they reach it in their respective works. But however notional this supreme beauty, this *τὸ πέπερνον* and *decorum*, as it was called, might be, yet it was productive of very real and substantial excellencies ; and while the geniuses of the several artists were stretching after this flying form, they reached those glorious productions that have been the admired models to all succeeding ages. Agreeably to this high enthusiasm, Marcus Antonius, who bears a part in Tully's dialogue intitled *the Orator*, says, that “ in his earlier years he published a treatise upon that subject, “ wherein he asserted, that tho' he had known some few indeed, who deserved to be called orators, in the popular sense of that word, yet he had met with none who had ever arrived at true *eloquence*. ” (Vid Tull. de orat. lib. 1.)

and

graceful reply. It was the opinion of Acilius Rufus, the consul elect, that the Bithynians should be permitted to lodge their information; but he took no notice of the petition of Varenus; which was only another way of putting his negative upon it. Cornelius Priscus, formerly consul, declared that he thought the request of both parties should be granted: and his opinion prevailed. Thus we gained our point, and tho' we had not the authority either of law or usage on our side, yet certainly the thing we insisted upon was extremely equitable. But I will not in this place give you my reasons for thinking so, -that you may with more impatience turn to my speech. For if it is true, as Homer sings, that

— *novel*

and to that treatise Pliny, it is probable, here alludes. " All the sciences indeed (as a very ingenious author observes) have their particular chimeras; certain fancied points after which they run, without ever being able to overtake, but which lead, however, to very solid acquisitions. Thus (says that writer) chymistry has its philosopher's stone, geometry its quadrature of the circle; astronomy its longitude; mechanics its perpetual motion: these, tho' it is impossible to find, it is useful to enquire after. Morality too is not without her chimeras; pure disinterestedness and perfect friendship are of that sort: none will ever arrive at them, nevertheless it is proper to have them in view, at least by that means several other virtues may be acquired. It is necessary in all things to propose to ourselves a certain point of perfection beyond our abilities to reach; for we should never set out if we thought of arriving no farther than we shall in fact: It is expedient therefore, to have some imaginary term in aim, in order to forward and animate our pursuits." Fontenelle *dial. des morts.*

—Novel lays attract our ravish'd ears;
But old, the mind with inattention bears &:

I must not suffer the intemperate loquacity of my letter to despoil my speech of its principal flower, by robbing it of that novelty which is indeed its chief recommendation. Farewel.

LETTER XXI. To Rufus.

I Went into the Julian^a court to attend a cause in which at the next sitting I was to reply. The judges had taken their seats, the ^b Decemviri were arrived, the eyes of the audience were fixed upon the counsel, and all was hushed in silence and expectation, when an order arrived from the Prætor, that the court should be adjourned: an accident extremely agreeable to me, who am never so well prepared, but that I am glad of gaining farther time. The occasion of the court's rising thus abruptly, was an edict of Nepos, the Prætor for criminal causes, wherein he directed all persons concerned as plaintiffs or defendants in any cause before

(g) Pope.

(a) A court of justice.

(b) The Decemviri seem to have been magistrates for the administration of justice, subordinate to the Prætors who (to give the English reader a general notion of their office) may be termed lords chief-justices, as the judges here-mentioned were something in the nature of our juries.

fore him, to take notice, that he designed strictly to put in force the decree of the senate annexed to his edict. Which decree was expressed in the following words : **ALL PERSONS WHATSOEVER, WHO HAVE ANY LAW-SUITS DEPENDING, ARE HEREBY REQUIRED AND COMMANDED, BEFORE ANY PROCEEDINGS BE HAD THEREON, TO TAKE AN OATH THAT THEY HAVE NOT GIVEN, PROMISED, OR ENGAGED TO GIVE ANY FEE OR REWARD TO ANY ADVOCATE UPON ACCOUNT OF HIS UNDERTAKING THEIR CAUSE.** In these terms, and many others equally full and express the lawyers were prohibited to make their profession venal. However, after the cause is decided, they are permitted to accept a gratuity of ten thousand sesterces^c. The Prætor for civil causes being alarmed at this unexpected order of Nepos, gave us this holy-day in order to take time to consider whether he should follow the example. In the mean while the town is much divided in its sentiments of this edict, some extremely approving, and others as much condemning it. *We have got then at last* (say the latter with a sneer) *a redressor of abuses. But pray was there never a Prætor before this man? what then is he who thus forwardly sets up for a reformer?* Others,
on

(c) About 80 l. of our money.

on the contrary, say, that he has taken a very proper step upon entring into his office ; that he has paid obedience to the laws ; considered the decrees of the senate, repressed a most indecent traffic, and will not suffer the most honorable of all professions to be debased into a Fordid commerce of lucre. These are the reflections which are universally thrown out upon this occasion ; but which side shall be thought to judge most rightly, the event alone will determine. It is the usual method of the world, (tho' a very unequitable rule of estimation,) to pronounce an action to be either good or bad, as it is attended with good or ill success ; in consequence of which you shall hear the very same conduct attributed to zeal or folly, to liberty or licentiousnes.

Farewel.

T H E

THE
LETTERS
OF
P L I N Y.

BOOK VI.

LETTER I. To TYRO.

I Was less sensible of your absence while you were in the country of the Piceni^a, and I on the other side the Po^b, than I find myself now that I am returned to Rome. Whether it be that the scene where we used to associate, naturally excites a more passionate remembrance of you; or that the less distant we are from a friend, the more

(a) The marquise of Ancona.

(b) At Comum.

more impatient we grow under the separation, our desires for a favorite object rising in proportion to our nearer approach towards it, I know not. But upon whatever principle this difference is to be accounted for, remove the uneasiness of it, I intreat you, by hastening hither: otherwise I shall return again into the country (which I now regret having left so soon) were it only to make the experiment whether, when you shall not find me at Rome, you will send the same friendly complaints after me. Farewel.

LETTER II. To ARRIANUS.

I Will not say I regret the loss of Regulus, but I confess, I sometimes miss him at the bar. The man, it must be owned, highly honor'd eloquence, and was laboriously solicitous in his endeavors to attain it. Tho' he could never indeed leave off the ridiculous custom of anointing his right or left-eye,^a and wearing a white patch over one side or the other of his forehead, as he was to plead either for the plaintiff or defendant; tho' he always, with a most foolish superstition, consulted the sooth-sayers upon the event of every cause in which he was concerned; still, all this absurdity proceeded from that high

(a) This silly piece of superstition seems to have been peculiar to Regulus, and not of any general practise; at least it is a custom of which we find no other mention in antiquity.

high veneration he paid to eloquence. And it was of singular advantage to be concerned in the same cause with him, as he always obtained full indulgence in point of time, and never failed to procure an audience; for what could be more convenient than, under the protection of a liberty which you did not ask yourself, and before an audience which you had not the trouble of collecting, to harangue at your ease, and as long as you thought proper? Nevertheless Regulus did well to depart this life, tho' indeed he would have done much better had he made his exit sooner; since he might *now* have lived without any danger to the public, in the reign of a prince under whom he would have had no opportunity of compassing his pernicious purposes. I need not scruple therefore, I think, to say I sometimes miss him: for since his death, the custom has prevailed of not allowing, nor indeed of asking more than an hour or two to plead in, and sometimes not above half that time. The truth is, our advocates take more pleasure in finishing a cause, than in defending it; and our judges had rather rise from the bench than sit upon it: such is their indolence, and such their disregard to the honor of eloquence and the interest of justice! But are we wiser than our ancestors? are we more equitable than the laws, which grant so many hours and days, and adjournments to a cause?

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were

were our fore-fathers slow of apprehension, and dull beyond measure? and are we more clear in our eloquence, more quick in our conceptions, or more scrupulous in our decisions, because we hurry over our causes in fewer hours than they took days to consider of them? What a reproach is it, Regulus, that none should refuse to thy vain-glorious solicitations, what few will yield even to the duty of their office! As for myself, whenever I sit upon the bench, (which is much oftener than I appear at the bar) I always give the advocates as much time as they require: for I look upon it as highly presuming, to pretend to guess before a cause is hear'd, what time it will require, and to set limits to an affair before one is acquainted with its extent; especially as the first and most sacred duty of a judge is patience, which indeed is itself a very considerable part of justice. But this, 'tis objected, would give an opening to much impertinent superfluity: I grant it may; yet is it not better to hear too much, than not to hear enough? besides, how shall you know that what an advocate has farther to offer will be superfluous, 'till you have hear'd him? But this, and many other public abuses will be best reserved to a conversation when we meet; for I know your affection to the commonwealth inclines you to wish, that some means might be

be found out to check at least those grievances, which would now be very difficult absolutely to remove.—But to turn to affairs of private concern: I hope all goes well in your family; mine remains in its usual situation. The good which I enjoy grows more acceptable to me by its continuance; as habit renders me less sensible of the evils I suffer.

Farewel.

LETTER III. To VERUS.

I Am much obliged to you for undertaking the care of that little farm I gave to my nurse. It was worth, when I made her a present of it, an hundred thousand ^asesterces, but the crops having since failed, it has sunk in its value: however it will thrive again, I doubt not, under your good management. But what I recommend to your attention, is not so much the land itself, (which yet I by no means except) as the interest of my particular benefaction; for it is not more her concern than mine, to render it as advantageous as possible. Farewel.

(a) About 800 l. of our money.

LETTER IV. To CALPHURNIA^a.

NEVER was business more uneasy to me, than when it prevented me not only from attending, but following you into ^b Campania. As at all times, so particularly now, I wish to be with you, that I may be a witness what progress you make in your strength and recovery, and how the tranquillity, the amusements, and plenty of that charming country agrees with you. Were you in perfect health, yet I could ill support your absence ; for even a moment's uncertainty of the welfare of those we tenderly love, is a situation of mind infinitely painful : but now your sickness conspires with your absence to perplex me with a thousand disquietudes. I fear every thing that can befall you, and, as is usual with all under the same terrifying apprehensions, suspect most, what I most dread. Let me conjure you then to prevent my solicitude by writing to me every day, and even twice a day : I shall be more easy, at least while I am reading your letters ; tho' all my apprehensions will again return upon

(a) His wife.

(b) Where Fabatus, Calphurnia's grand-father, had a villa. This delightful country is celebrated by almost every classic author, and every modern traveller, for the fertility of its soil, the beauty of its landscape, and the temperature of its air.

upon me the moment I have perused them. Farewell.

LETTER V. To URsus.

I Acquainted you in a former ^a letter, that Varanus obtained leave of the senate to send for his witnesses. This was thought by many extremely equitable, tho' some others, with much obstinacy, maintained the contrary; particularly Licinius Nepos, who at the following assembly of the senate, when the house was going upon other business, resumed this affair which had been settled, and made a long speech upon the last decree. And he concluded with moving, that the consuls might be desired to put the question whether it was the sense of the house, that as in prosecutions upon the law concerning bribery and corruption, so in that relating to extortion a clause should be added empowering the defendant, as well as the informer, to summon and examine witnesses. This speech was look'd upon by some as extremely ill-timed: they thought it strange that Nepos should let slip the proper occasion of observing upon the decree, when it was under the consideration of the senate; and object to an affair after it was determined, which he

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might

(a) Book v. let. 20.

might have obviated when it was in debate. Juba-
bentius Celsus, the Praetor, very warmly reproved
him in a long speech, for pretending to set himself
up as a reformer of the senate. Nepos answered
him; Celsus replied; and neither of them were
sparing of reflections upon each other.—But I for-
bear to repeat what I could not hear without re-
gret; and am therefore so much the more displeased
with some members of the senate, who ran from
Nepos to Celsus, as one or the other was speak-
ing, with the low pleasure of listening to their mu-
tual invectives; sometimes encouraging one, some-
times the other, and sometimes both; immediate-
ly afterwards seeming to reconcile them, and then
again animating them to the attack, as if they had
been at some public combat. And I could not ob-
serve without great concern, that they were mutu-
ally instructed with what each other intended to al-
lege; for Celsus replied to Nepos, as Nepos did to
Celsus, out of a paper which each held in their hands.
This was occasioned by the indiscretion of their
friends, and thus these two men abused one another
as if they had previously agreed to quarrel.

Farewell.

L E T-

LETTER VI. To FUNDANUS.

I Never wished to see you in Rome more than I do at this time, and I intreat you therefore to come hither; for I want a friend to share with me in the labor and solicitude of an affair, in which I very warmly interest myself. Julius Naso is a candidate for a post of honor: he has many competitors, and some of them of great worth; upon which account, as his success will be more glorious, so it will be more difficult. I am much divided between hope and fear, and the anxiety I feel upon this occasion is so great, that I almost forget I have been consul, and fancy I have the whole field of dignities to run over again. This zeal is justly due to Naso, in return for his long affection to me. The friendship which I have for him did not, it is true, descend to him by inheritance, for his father and I were at too great a distance in point of age to admit of any intimacy between us; yet from my earliest youth I was taught to look upon him with the highest veneration. He was not only an admirer of the polite arts himself, but the patron of all who cultivated them; as he was a frequent attender of Quintilian and Nicetes, to whom I was at that time a disciple. He was, in short, a

man of great worth and eminence, and one whose memory ought extremely to facilitate the honors of his son. But there are numbers in the senate who never knew his father; and though there are many also who were well acquainted with him, yet they are such who regard none but the living. For this reason Nepos, without relying upon the character of his father, which is likely to prove of more honor than service to him, must exert the utmost of his own endeavors to recommend himself: and indeed, he has ever been as cautious in his conduct as if he had governed it with a particular view to this occasion. He has acquired many friendships, and cultivated them with strict fidelity; and particularly singled me out for the object of his esteem and imitation, from the first moment he was capable of forming any judgment of the world. Whenever I plead, he anxiously attends me, and is always of the party when I recite; as he is ever the first to enquire after my works. His brother had the same attachment to me.—But he has lost that excellent brother! and it shall be my part to supply his place. It is with grief I reflect upon the immature death of the one, as I lament that the other should be deprived of the assistance of so valuable a relation, and left only to the zeal of his friends. It is that consideration

which

which induces me to beg you would come hither and unite your suffrage with mine. It will be of singular advantage to the cause in which I am embarked, if you should appear in it, and join your solicitations with mine; and such, I know, is your credit and influence, that I am persuaded your doing so will render my applications more effectual, even with my friends themselves. Let me entreat you then to break through all obstacles that may lie in your way. I have a right to claim your assistance in this conjuncture: your friendship to me, and my credit, both require it. I have undertaken to support the interest of Nafo, and the world knows that I do; the pursuit and the hazard therefore is now become my own. In a word, if he obtains this post, all the honor will be his; but if he be rejected, the repulse will be mine. Farewel.

LETTER VII. To CALPHURNIA.

YOU kindly tell me, my absence is greatly uneasy to you, and that your only consolation is in conversing with my works, instead of their author, which you frequently place by your side. How agreeable is it to me to know that you thus wish for my company, and support yourself under the want of it by these tender amusements!

In

In return, I entertain myself with reading over your letters again and again, and am continually taking them up as if I had just received them ; but alas ! they only serve to make me more strongly regret your absence : For how amiable must *her* conversation be, whose letters have so many charms ? Let me receive them, however, as often as possible, notwithstanding there is still a mixture of pain in the pleasure they afford me. Farewel.

LETTER VIII. To PRISCUS.

YOU know and esteem Attilius Cresens ; as indeed who is there of any rank or worth that does not ? for myself, I profess to have a friendship for him much superior to the common attachments of the world. The places of our nativity are separated only by a day's journey ; and we conceived an affection to each other when we were very young ; a season when friendship strikes the deepest root. Ours improved by years ; and so far from being weakened, that it was confirmed by our riper judgments, as those who know us best can witness. He takes pleasure in boasting every where of my friendship ; as I do to let the world know, that his honor, his ease, and his interest, are my peculiar concern. Insomuch that upon his expressing

expressing to me some apprehension from the info-
lence of a certain person who was entering upon
the tribuneship of the people, I could not forbear
answering,

Long as Achilles breathes this vital air,

To touch thy head no impious hand shall dare.

I mention this to shew you, that I look upon every
injury offered to Attilius, as done to myself. But
you will be impatient to hear what all this tends to.
You must know then, Valerius Varus, at his
death, owed Attilius a sum of money. Though I
am acquainted with Maximus, his heir, yet there is
a closer friendship between him and you. I beg
therefore, and conjure you by the affection you
have for me, to take care that Attilius is not only
paid the principal which is due to him, but all the
long arrears of interest. He neither covets the pro-
perty of others, nor neglects the care of his own;
and as he is not engaged in any lucrative professi-
on, he has nothing to depend upon but his fruga-
lity: for as to the polite arts, in which he greatly
excels, he pursues them merely upon the motives
of pleasure and fame. In such a situation, the

(a) Hom. Il. lib. 1. & 88.

frightest loss presses hard upon a man, and the more so because he has no opportunities of repairing any injury done to his fortune. Assist us then, I intreat you, in this difficulty, and suffer me still to enjoy the pleasure of his sprightly and diverting conversation; for I cannot bear to see the cheerfulness of my friend over-clouded, whose mirth and good-humor dissipates every gloom of melancholy in myself. In a word, as you are well acquainted with the entertaining gaiety of temper which Attilius possesses, I hope you will not suffer any injury to discompose and sour it. You may judge, by the warmth of his affection, how bitter his resentments would prove; for a generous and great mind can ill brook an injury when it is joined with contempt. But though *he* could pass it over, yet cannot I; on the contrary, I shall look upon it as a wrong and indignity done to myself, and resent it as one offered to my friend; that is, with double warmth. But after all, why this air of threatening? rather let me end in the same stile I began, by earnestly conjuring you so to act in this affair, that neither Attilius may have reason to imagine (which I should greatly regret) that I neglect his interest; nor that I may have occasion to charge you with being careless of mine; and so

you

you undoubtedly will, if you have the same regard for the latter, as I have for the former. Farewel.

LETTER IX. To TACITUS.

WHEN you recommend to my care the interest of Julius Naso in the office he is pursuing, what is it but recommending me to myself? However, I forgive you, and I should have done the same had you been at Rome, and I absent. The tender anxiety of friendship is apt to imagine every circumstance to be material. But I advise you to turn your solicitations to others, and be assured I will take a full share with you in all your applications in this affair, and support you with my best and warmest endeavors. Farewel.

LETTER X. To ALBINUS.

Was lately at Alsium ^a where my wife's mother has a villa which once belonged to ^b Verginius Rufus. The place renewed in my mind the sorrowful remembrance of that great and excellent man. He was extremely fond of this retirement, and used to call it *the nest of his old age*. Where-

ever

(a) Now Alzia, not far from Como.

(b) See an account of him in B. 2. let. 1.

ever I turned my eyes, I missed my worthy friend. I had an inclination to visit his monument; but I repented of my curiosity: for I found it still unfinished, and this not from any difficulty of the work itself, for it is very plain, or rather indeed slight; but through the neglect of him to whose care it was entrusted. I could not see without a concern mixed with indignation, the remains of a man, whose fame filled the whole world, lie for ten years after his death without an inscription, or a name. He had however directed, that the divine and immortal action of his life should be recorded upon his tomb in the following lines:

*Here Rufus lies, who Vindex^b arms withstood,
Not for himself, but for his country's good.*

But a faithful friend is so rare to be found, and the dead are so soon forgot, that we shall be obliged to build even our very monuments, and anticipate the office of our heirs. For who is it that has not reason to fear what has happened to Verginius, may be his own case? an indignity which is so much the more remarkable and injurious, as it falls upon one of his distinguished virtues. Farewel.

(b) See p. 64. note (b).

LETTER XI. To MAXIMUS.

HOW happy a day did I lately pass! when having been called by the ^aPræfect of Rome, to his assistance in a certain cause, I had the pleasure to hear two excellent young men, Fuscius Salinator and Numidius Quadratus, plead on the opposite sides: both of them of extraordinary hopes and great talents, who will one day, I am persuaded, prove an ornament not only to the present age, but to literature itself. They discovered upon this occasion an admirable probity, supported by inflexible courage: their habit was decent, their elocution distinct, their voice manly, their memory strong ^b, their genius elevated, and guided

by

(a) An officer something in the nature of the lord mayor among us. He preceded all other city magistrates, having power to receive appeals from the inferior courts, and to decide almost all causes within the limits of Rome, or a hundred miles round.

(b) Strength of memory seems to have been a quality highly esteemed among the Romans, Pliny often mentioning it when he draws the characters of his friends, as in the number of their most shining talents. The extraordinary perfection in which some of the ancients are said to have possessed this useful faculty, is almost incredible. Our author speaks in a former letter, of a Greek philosopher of his acquaintance, who after having delivered a long harangue extempore, would immediately repeat it again, without losing a single word. Seneca says, he could in his youth repeat two thousand names exactly in the same order they were read to him; and that to try the strength of his memory, the audience who attended the same professor

by an equal solidity of judgment. I took infinite pleasure in observing them display these noble qualities; particularly as I had the satisfaction to see that while they looked upon me as their guide and model, they appeared in the sentiments of the audience as my imitators and rivals. It was a day (I cannot but repeat it again) which afforded me the most exquisite happiness, and which I shall ever distinguish with the fairest^d mark. For what indeed could be either more pleasing to me on the public account, than to observe two such noble youths building their fame and glory upon the polite arts; or more desirable upon my own, than to be marked

out

professor with himself, would each of them give him a verse, which he would instantly repeat, beginning with the last, and so on to the first, to the amount of two hundred. He tells a pleasant story upon this occasion, of a certain poet, who having recited a poem in public, a person who was present claimed it for his own, and in proof of its being so, repeated it word for word; which the real author was not capable of doing. [Sen. controv. l. 1. in init.] Numberless instances might be collected from the antients, to the same purpose; to mention only a few more: It is said of Themistocles, that he made himself entirely master of the Persian language in a year's time; of Mithridates, that he understood as many languages as he commanded nations, that is, no less than twenty-two; of Cyrus, that he retained the names of every single soldier in his army. [Quint. l. 11. 2.] But the finest compliment that ever was paid to a good memory, is what Tully says of Julius Cæsar, in his oration for Ligarius, that *he never forgot any thing but an injury.*

(d) Alluding to a custom of the Romans, who marked the fortunate days in their calendar with white, and the unfortunate with black.

out as a worthy example to them in their pursuits of virtue? May heaven still grant me the continuance of that pleasure! And you will bear me witness, I sincerely implore the gods, that every man who thinks me deserving of his imitation, may far exceed the model he has chosen. Farewel.

LETTER XII. To FABATUS.^a

MOST certainly you ought not to use any reserve in your recommendations to me of such persons whom you judge worthy your patronage, because nothing is more agreeable to your character than to be as extensively beneficent as possible; nor to mine, than to interest myself in every thing in which you are concerned. Be assured therefore I shall give all the assistance in my power to Vectius Priscus, especially in what relates to my peculiar province; I mean the bar. —

You desire me to forget those letters which you wrote to me, you say, in the openness of your heart; but believe me, there is none I remember with more complacency. They are very pleasing proofs of the share I enjoy of your affection, since you use the same free expostulations with me, that you would with your own son. And, to confess the truth, they

X

are

(a) His wife Calphurnia's grandfather.

are so much the more agreeable, as I had nothing to accuse myself of upon your account; for I had very exactly performed your requests. I intreat you again and again, still to rebuke me with the same freedom, whenever you imagine (and I trust it will be only imagination) that I fail in my duty towards you: It will afford *me* the pleasure of receiving a strong mark of your affection; and *you* that of being convinced I did not deserve the reproach. Farewel.

LETTER XIII. To Ursus.

WAS ever man so persecuted as my friend Varenus, who has been obliged to enter into a fresh defence, and, as it were, to petition again for what he had, with much struggle and difficulty, already obtained ^a? The Bithynians have had the confidence not only to complain to the consuls of the decree of the senate; but also to inveigh against it to the emperor, who happened to be absent when it passed. Cæsar referred them back to the senate, where they still persisted in their remonstrances. Claudius Capito ventured to be counsel for them, and I will add, with more ill-manners than true fortitude, as it was to arraign

(a) See B. 5. let. 20.

arraign the justice of a decree of the senate, in the face of that august assembly. Fronto Catus replied to him with great solidity and spirit; as indeed the whole body of the senate conducted themselves in this affair with wonderful dignity. For those who opposed the petition of Varenus, when it was first brought before the house, thought after it was granted, it ought not to be reversed. While the question indeed was under debate, every body, they imagined, was at liberty to give their sentiments; but when once settled by the majority, they looked upon it then to be the common concern of each member to support it. This was the general opinion of the whole house, Acilius Rufus only excepted, and seven or eight more with him: These indeed persevered in their former vote. Among which small party there were some whose occasional solemnity, or rather affectation of solemnity, was extremely ridiculed. You will judge from hence what a warm battle we are likely to have of it, since this prelude, as I may call it, has occasioned so much contention. Farewel.

LETTER XIV. To MAURICUS.

IN compliance with your solicitation, I consent to make you a visit at your Formian villa, but it is upon condition that you put yourself to no inconvenience upon my account; a condition which I shall also strictly observe on my part. It is not the pleasures of your sea and your coast that I pursue; it is your company, together with ease and freedom from business, that I desire to enjoy; otherwise I might as well remain in Rome: for there is no medium worth accepting between giving up your time wholly to the disposal of others, or reserving it entirely in your own; at least for myself, I declare I cannot relish mixtures of any kind.

Farewel.

LETTER XV. To ROMANUS.

I Believe you were not present at a very drole accident which lately happened: I was not indeed a witness to it myself, however I had an early account of it. Passienus Paulus, an eminent Roman knight, and particularly conspicuous for his great learning, has a turn for Elegiac Poetry; a talent which runs in the family, for Propertius^a was

his

(a) A famous poet.

his relation as well as his countryman. He was lately reciting a poem which began thus :

Priscus, at thy command —

Whereupon Priscus, who happened to be present as a particular friend of the poet's, cry'd out — *But he is mistaken, I did not command him.* Think what a peal of laughter this occasioned. The intellects of Priscus, you must know, are something suspicious ; however, as he enters into the common offices of life, is called to consultations, and publicly acts as a lawyer, this behavior was the more remarkable and ridiculous : and in truth, Priscus was a good deal disconcerted by his friend's absurdity. Thus, you see, it is not only necessary that an author who recites his works in public, should himself have a sound judgment, but that he takes care his audience have so too. Farewel.

LETTER XVI. To TACITUS.

YOUR request that I would send you an account of my uncle's death, in order to transmit a more exact relation of it to posterity, deserves my acknowledgments ; for if this accident shall be celebrated by your pen, the glory of it,

X 3 I am

I am well assured, will be render'd for ever illustrious. And notwithstanding he perished by a misfortune, which, as it involved at the same time a most beautiful country in ruins, and destroyed so many populous cities, seems to promise to him an everlasting remembrance ; notwithstanding he has himself composed many and lasting works ; yet, I am well persuaded, the mentioning of him in your immortal writings, will greatly contribute to eternalize his name. Happy I esteem those to be, whom providence has distinguished with the abilities either of doing such actions as are worthy of being related, or of relating them in a manner worthy of being read ; but doubly happy are they who are blessed with both these uncommon talents : in the number of which my uncle, as his own writings, and your history will evidently prove, may justly be ranked. It is with extreme willingness, therefore, that I execute your commands ; and should indeed have claimed the task if you had not enjoin'd it. He was at that time with the fleet under his command at ^a Misenum. On the 23d of August, about one in the afternoon, my mother desired him to observe a cloud which appeared of a very unusual size and shape. He had just returned from

(a) In the gulf of Naples. X

taking the benefit of the ^b sun, and after bathing himself in cold water, and taking a slight repast, was retired to his study: he immediately arose, and went out upon an eminence from whence he might more distinctly view this very uncommon appearance. It was not at that distance discernible from what mountain this cloud issued, but it was found afterwards to ascend from mount Vesuvius. ^c I cannot

X 4

give

(b) The Romans used to lie or walk naked in the sun, after rubbing their bodies with oil, which was esteemed as greatly contributing to health, and therefore daily practised by them. This custom, however, of anointing themselves, is inveighed against by the satirists as in the number of their luxurious indulgences: but since we find the elder Pliny here, and the amiable Spurinna in a former letter, practising this method, we cannot suppose the thing itself was esteemed unmanly, but only when it was attended with some particular circumstances of an over-refined delicacy.

(c) About six miles distant from Naples.—This dreadful eruption happened A. D. 79, in the second year of the emperor Titus. Martial has a pretty epigram upon this subject, in which he gives us a view of Vesuvius, as it appeared before this terrible conflagration broke out:

*Hic est pampineis viridis Vesuvius umbris,
Pressat hic madidos nobilis uva lacus.
Hac juga, quam Nisa colles, plus Bacchus amavit;
Hoc nuper Satyri monte dedere choros.
Hac Veneris sedes, Lacedaemon gravior illi;
Hic locus Herculeo nomine clarus erat:
Cuncta jacent flammis, & tristi mersa favilla;
Nec vellent superi hoc licuisse fibi.*

Lib. ii. Ep. 105.

*Here verdant vines o'erspread Vesuvio's fides;
The gen'rous grape here pour'd her purple tides.
This Bacchus lov'd beyond his native scene;
Here dancing satyrs joy'd to trip the green.
Far more than Sparta this in Venus' grace;
And great Alcides once renown'd the place;*

Now

give you a more exact description of its figure, than by resembling it to that of a pine-tree, for it shot up a great height in the form of a trunk, which extended itself at the top into sort of branches; occasioned, I imagine, by a sudden gust of air that impelled it, the force of which either decreasing as it advanced upwards, or the cloud it self being pressed back again by its own weight, expanded in this manner: it appeared sometimes bright and sometimes dark and spotted, as it was either more or less impregnated with earth and cinders. This extraordinary phœnomenon excited my uncle's philosophical curiosity to take a nearer view of it. He ordered a light vessel to be got ready, and gave me the liberty, if I thought proper, to attend him. I rather chose to continue my studies; for, as it happened, he had given me an employment of that kind. As he was coming out of the house^d he received a note from Rectina the wife of Bassus, who was in the utmost alarm at the imminent

Now flaming embers spread dire waste around,
And Gods regret that Gods can thus confound.

It seems probable that this was the first eruption of mount Vesuvius, at least of any consequence; as it is certain we have no accounts of any preceding one. Dio, indeed, and other ancient authors speak of it as burning before; but still they describe it as covered with trees and vines, so that the eruptions must have been inconsiderable.

(d) The manuscript and printed copies vary extremely from each other as to the reading of this passage. The conjecture of Gesnerus seems the most satisfactory, as it comes nearest the most approved manuscripts, and best falls in with the context; it is therefore adopted in the translation.

nent danger which threatened her ; for her villa being situated at the foot of mount Vesuvius, there was no way to escape but by sea ; she earnestly intreated him therefore to come to her assistance. He accordingly changed his first design, and what he began with a philosophical, he pursued with an heroical turn of mind. He ordered the gallies to put to sea, and went himself on board with an intention of assisting not only Rectina, but several others ; for the villas stand extremely thick upon that beautiful coast. When hastening to the place from whence others fled with the utmost terror, he steer'd his direct course to the point of danger, and with so much calmness and presence of mind, as to be able to make and dictate his observations upon the motion and figure of that dreadful scene. He was now so nigh the mountain, that the cinders, which grew thicker and hotter the nearer they approached, fell into the ships, together with pumice-stones, and black pieces of burning rock : they were also in danger not only of being a-ground by the sudden retreat of the sea, but from the vast fragments which rolled down from the mountain, and obstructed all the shore. Here he stopped to consider whether he should return back again ; to which the pilot advising him, *Fortune*, said he, *befriends the brave* ; *Carry me to Pomponianus.*

Pom-

Pomponianus was then at ^e Stabiæ, separated by a gulf, which the sea, after several insensible windings, forms upon that shore. He had already sent his baggage on board ; for tho' he was not at that time indeed in actual danger, yet being within the view of it, and extremely near, if it should in the least encrease, he was determined to put to sea as soon as the wind should change. It was favorable, however, for carrying my uncle to Pomponianus, whom he found in the greatest consternation : he embraced him with tenderness, encouraging and exhorting him to keep up his spirits, and the more to dissipate his fears, he ordered, with an air of unconcern, the baths to be got ready ; when after having bathed, he sat down to supper with great chearfulness, or at least (what is equally heroic) with all the appearance of it. In the mean while the eruption from mount Vesuvius flamed out in several places with much violence, which the darkness of the night contributed to render still more visible and dreadful. But my uncle, in order to sooth the apprehensions of his friend, assured him it was only the burning of the villages, which the country people had abandoned to the flames : after this he retired to rest, and it is most certain he was so little discomposed as to fall into a deep sleep ; for being pretty

(e) Now called *Castel Mar di Stabia*, in the gulf of Naples.

pretty fat, and breathing hard, those who attended without actually hear'd him snore. The court which led to his apartment being now almost filled with stones and ashes, if he had continued there any time longer, it would have been impossible for him to have made his way out ; it was thought proper therefore to awaken him. He got up, and went to Pomponianus and the rest of his company, who were not unconcerned enough to think of going to bed. They consulted together whether it would be most prudent to trust to the houses, which now shook from side to side with frequent and violent concussions ; or fly to the open fields, where the calcined stones and cinders, tho' light indeed, yet fell in large showers, and threatened destruction. In this distress they resolved for the fields, as the least dangerous situation of the two ; a resolution which, while the rest of the company were hurried into by their fears, my uncle embraced upon cool and deliberate consideration. They went out then, having pillows tied upon their heads with napkins ; and this was their whole defence against the storm of stones that fell round them. Tho' it was now day every where else, with them it was darker than the most obscure night, excepting only what light proceeded from the fire and flames. They thought proper to go down farther upon the shore, to observe if they might safely put out to sea, but they

found

found the waves still run extremely high and boisterous. There my uncle having drank a draught or two of cold water, threw himself down upon a cloth which was spread for him, when immediately the flames, and a strong smell of sulphur, which was the forerunner of them, dispersed the rest of the company, and obliged him to arise. He raised himself up with the assistance of two of his servants, and instantly fell down dead ; suffocated, as I conjecture, by some gross and noxious vapor, having always had weak lungs, and frequently subject to a difficulty of breathing. As soon as it was light again, which was not till the third day after this melancholy accident, his body was found intire, and without any marks of violence upon it, exactly in the same posture that he fell, and looking more like a man asleep than dead. During all this time my mother and I who were at Misenum
—¹⁰⁰⁰ But this, as it has no connection with your history, so your enquiry went no farther than concerning my uncle's death ; with that therefore I will put an end to my letter : suffer me only to add, that I have faithfully related to you what I was either an eye-witness of myself, or received immediately after the accident happened, and before there was time to vary the truth. You will

choose
yours and
the
See this account continued, let. xx. of this book.

choose out of this narrative such circumstances as shall be most suitable to your purpose : for there is a great difference between what is proper for a letter, and an history ; between writing to a friend, and writing to the public. Farewel.

LETTER XVII. To RESTITUTUS.

I Cannot forbear pouring out my indignation before you in a letter, (since I have no opportunity of doing so in person,) against a certain behavior which gave me some offence in an assembly where I was lately present. The company was entertained with the recital of a very finished performance : but there were two or three persons among the audience, men of great genius in their own, and a few of their friends estimation, who sat like so many mutes, without so much as moving a lip or a hand, or once rising from their seats, even to shift their posture. But to what purpose, in the name of good sense, all this wonderous air of wisdom and solemnity, or rather indeed (to give it its true appellation) of this proud indolence ? Is it not downright folly, or even madness, thus to be at the expence of a whole day merely to commit a piece of rudeness, and leave *him* an enemy, whom you visited as a friend ! Is a man conscious that he possesses a superior degree of eloquence

than the person whom he attends upon such an occasion? so much the rather ought he to guard against every appearance of envy, as a passion that always implies inferiority, wherever it resides. But whatever a man's talent may be, whether greater, or equal, or less, than his friend's, still it is his interest to give him the approbation he deserves: if greater or equal; because the higher his glory rises whom you equal or excel, the more considerable yours must necessarily be: if less, because if one of more exalted abilities does not meet with applause, neither possibly can you. For my own part, I honor and revere all who discover any degree of merit in the painful and laborious art of oratory; for Eloquence is a high and haughty dame, who scorns to reside with those that despise her. But perhaps you are not of this opinion; yet who has a greater regard for this glorious science, or is a more candid judge of it than yourself? In confidence of which, I chose to vent my indignation particularly to you, as not doubting you would be the first to share with me in the same sentiments. Farewell.

LETTER XVIII. To SABINUS.

I Will endeavor, as you desire, to undertake the cause of the Firmiani^a, tho' I have many affairs upon my hands: for I should be extremely glad to oblige so illustrious a colony by my good offices, as well as to render you an acceptable service. How indeed can I refuse you any thing, who profess to have sought my friendship as your ornament and support, especially when your request is on behalf of your country? For what can be more worthy than the intreaties of a patriot, or more powerful than those of a friend? You may engage for me therefore to your, or rather as I should now call them, *our* friends the Firmiani. And tho' their own illustrious character did not persuade me that they deserve my care and patronage, yet I could not but conceive a very high notion of their merit, from seeing a man of your distinguished virtues rise up amongst them.

(a) Inhabitants of a city in Italy, called *Fermo*, in the marquise of Ancona.

LETTER XIX. To NEPOS.

ARE you informed that the price of lands is considerably risen, especially of those which lie round Rome? This sudden advance, was occasioned by a practice which has been much complained of, and which drew from the senate, at the last assembly for the election of magistrates, a very honorable decree, whereby the candidates for any office are prohibited from giving any treat, present, or money whatsoever. The two former of these abuses were practised with as little reserve as discretion; the latter, tho' carried on with more secrecy, was however equally notorious. Our friend Homulus, taking advantage of this favorable disposition of the senate, instead of giving his sentiments upon the point in debate, moved that the consuls might acquaint the emperor, it was unanimously desired to have this abuse reformed, and that they would address him to interpose his vigilance and authority for the redress of this evil, as he had for that of every other. The emperor was accordingly pleased to do so, and published an edict to restrain those infamous largesses; wherein he directs that no person shall be admitted as a candidate who has not a third part of his estate in land; esteem-

esteeming it highly indecent, (as no doubt it is) that those who aspire to dignities in the state, should look upon Rome and Italy, rather like travellers who are passing thro' it, than as their proper country. For this reason there is a general struggle among those who aim at any office, and they buy up every thing which they hear is to be sold ; by which means the value of lands is greatly encreased. If therefore you are inclined to dispose of any part of your estate here, or of making purchases elsewhere, you have now a good opportunity ; for in order to buy in Italy, these candidates are obliged to sell their estates in the provinces. Farewel.

LETTER XX. To CORNELIUS TACITUS.

THE letter which, in compliance with your request, I wrote to you concerning the death of my uncle, has raised, it seems, your curiosity to know what terrors and dangers attended me while I continued at Misenum ; for there, I think, the account in my former broke off :

Tbo' my shoc'd soul recoils, my tongue shall tell^a.

My uncle having left us, I pursued the studies
Y

(a) Virg. Pit's Translation.

which prevented my going with him, till it was time to bathe. After which I went to supper, and from thence to bed, where my sleep was greatly broken and disturbed. There had been for many days before some shocks of an earthquake, which the less surprized us as they are extremely frequent in Campania ; but they were so particularly violent that night, that they not only shook every thing about us, but seemed indeed to threaten total destruction. My mother flew to my chamber, where she found me rising, in order to awaken her. We went out into a small court belonging to the house, which separated the sea from the buildings. As I was at that time but eighteen years of age, I know not whether I should call my behavior in this dangerous juncture, courage or rashness ; but I took up Livy, and amused myself with turning over that author, and even making extracts from him, as if all about me had been in full security. While we were in this posture, a friend of my uncle's, who was just come from Spain to pay him a visit, joined us, and observing me sitting by my mother with a book in my hand, greatly condemned her calmness, at the same time that he reproved me for my careless security : nevertheless I still went on with my author. Tho' it was now morning, the light was exceedingly faint and languid ; the buildings all around us tottered, and
tho'

tho' we stood upon open ground, yet as the place was narrow and confined, there was no remaining there without certain and great danger: we therefore resolved to quit the town. The people followed us in the utmost consternation, and (as to a mind distracted with terror, every suggestion seems more prudent than its own) pressed in great crowds about us in our way out. Being got at a convenient distance from the houses, we stood still, in the midst of a dreadful scene of danger. The chariots which we had ordered to be drawn out, were so agitated backwards and forwards, tho' in the open fields, that we could not keep them steady, even by supporting them with large stones. The sea seemed to rowl back upon itself, and to be driven from its banks by the convulsive motion of the earth; it is certain at least the shore was considerably enlarged, and several sea-animals were left upon it. On the other side, a black and dreadful cloud bursting with an igneous serpentine vapor, darted out a long train of fire, resembling flashes of lightening, but much larger. Upon this our Spanish friend, whom I mentioned above, addressing himself to my mother and me with greater warmth and earnestness: *If your brother and your uncle, said he, is safe, be certainly wishes you may be so too; but if he perished, it was his desire, no doubt, that you might both survive him:*

Why therefore do you delay your escape a moment? We could never think of our own safety, we said, while we were uncertain of his. Hereupon our friend left us, and withdrew from the danger with the utmost precipitation. Soon afterwards the cloud seem'd to descend, and covered the whole ocean; as indeed, it entirely hid the island of ^a Caprea, and the promontory of Misenum. My mother strongly conjured me to make my escape at any rate, which as I was young, I might easily do; as for herself, she said, her age and corpulency rendered all attempts of that sort impossible; however that she should willingly meet death, if she could have the satisfaction of seeing that she was not the occasion of mine. But I absolutely refused to leave her, and taking her by the hand, I led her on: she complied with great reluctance, and not without many reproaches to herself for retarding my flight. The ashes now began to fall upon us, tho' in no great quantity. I turned my head, and observed behind us a thick smoke, which came rowling after us like a torrent. I proposed while we had yet any light, to turn out of the high road, lest we should be pressed to death in the dark, by the crowd that followed us. We had scarce steped out of the path, when a darkness over-spread us, not like

(a) An island near Naples, now called *Capri*.

like that of a cloudy night, or when there is no moon, but of a room when it is shut up, and all the lights extinct. Nothing then was to be hear'd but the shrieks of women, the screams of children, and the cries of men; some calling for their children, others for their parents, others for their husbands, and only distinguishing each other by their voices; one lamenting his own fate, another that of his family; some wishing to die, from the very fear of dying, some lifting up their hands to the Gods; but the greater part imagining that the last and eternal night was come, which was to destroy both the gods and the world together. Among these there were some who augmented the real terrors by imaginary ones, and made the frightened multitude falsely believe that Misenum was actually in flames. At length a glimmering light appeared, which we imagined to be rather the forerunner of an approaching burst of flames, (as in truth it was) than the return of day: however, the fire fell at a distance from us: then again we were immersed in thick darkness, and a heavy shower of ashes rained upon us, which we were obliged every now and then to shake off,

(b) The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers held, that the world was to be destroyed by fire, and all things fall again into original chaos; not excepting even the national gods themselves from the destruction of this general conflagration.

otherwise we should have been crushed and buried in the heap. I might boast, that during all this scene of horror, not a sigh or expression of fear escap'd from me, had not my support been founded in that miserable, tho' strong consolation, that all mankind were involved in the same calamity, and that I imagined I was perishing with the world itself. At last this dreadful darkness dissipat'd by degrees, like a cloud or smoke ; the real day returned, and even the sun appeared, tho' very faintly, and as when an eclipse is coming on. Every object that presented itself to our eyes (which were extremely weakened) seemed changed, being cover'd over with white ashes, as with a deep snow. We returned to Misenum, where we refreshed ourselves as well as we could, and pass'd an anxious night between hope and fear ; tho' indeed, with much a larger share of the latter : for the earthquake still continued, while several enthusiastic people ran up and down heightening their own and their friends calamities, by terrible predictions. However, my mother and I, notwithstanding the danger we had pass'd, and that which still threaten'd us, had no thoughts of leaving the place, till we

(c) Mr. Addison in his account of mount Vesuvio observes, that the air of the place is so very much impregnated with salt-petre, that one can scarce find a stone which has not the top white with it. Travels, 182.

we should receive some account of my uncle.—

And now, you will read this narrative without any view of inserting it in your history, of which it is by no means worthy ; and indeed you must impute it to your own request, if it shall appear scarce to deserve even the trouble of a letter. Farewel.

LETTER XXI. To CANINIUS.

THO' I acknowledge myself an admirer of the antients ; yet I am very far from despising, as some affect to do, the genius of the moderns : nor can I suppose, that nature in these latter ages is so worn out, as to be incapable of any valuable production. On the contrary, I have lately had the pleasure of hearing Verginius Romanus read to a few select friends, a Comedy so justly formed upon the plan of the antients, that it may one day serve itself for a model. I know not whether he is in the number of your acquaintance ; I am sure at least he deserves to be so, as he is greatly distinguished by the probity of his manners, the elegance of his genius, and the variety of his productions. He has wrote some very agreeable pieces of the burlesque kind in Iambics, with much delicacy, wit, and humor, and I will add too, even eloquence ; for every species of

composition, which is finished in its kind, may with propriety be termed eloquent. He has also composed some Comedies after the manner of Menander and other approved authors of that age, which deserve to be ranked with those of Plautus and Terence. He has now, for the first time, attempted the ^a antient Comedy, but in such a manner, as to shew he is a perfect master in this way. Strength, majesty, and delicacy, softness, poignancy, and wit, are the graces which shine out in this performance with full lustre. He represents virtuous characters with the highest distinction of honor, at the same time that he stigmatizes vicious ones with a noble indignation : wherever he makes use of feigned names it is with great propriety, as he employs real ones with much justness. With respect only to myself, I should say he has erred thro' an excess of good-will, if I did not know that fiction is the privilege of poets. In a word, I will insist upon his letting me have the copy, that I may send it to you

(a) With regard to the various changes and revolutions Comedy has undergone, it is distinguished into three kinds, viz. the *Antient*, which was founded upon real facts, and persons pointed out by their proper names ; the *middle*, where the subject was real, but the names fictitious ; the *new*, wherein both the names and the action are imaginary. Of the *first* model was Aristophanes; upon whose general manner, it is probable, Romanus formed his Comedy hexemeronoted; but as he appears to have made use both of true and invented names in his characters, it seems rather to have been of the *mixed* kind.

you for your perusal, or rather that you may get it by heart ; for I am well persuaded when you have once taken it up, you will not easily lay it aside.
Farewel.

LETTER XXII. To TIRO.

AN affair has lately been transacted here, which nearly concerns those who shall hereafter be appointed governors of provinces, as well as every man who too incautiously trusts his friends. Lustricus Bruttianus having detected his lieutenant Montanus Atticus in several enormous crimes, informed the emperor of them. Atticus, on the other hand, added to his guilt by commencing a groundless prosecution against the friend whose confidence he had abused. His information was received, and I was one of the assessors at this trial. Both parties pleaded their own cause, and in a summary way confined themselves closely to the articles of the charge : a method by much the shortest of discovering the truth. Bruttianus, as a proof of the unreserved confidence he had reposed in his friend, and that nothing but absolute necessity could have extorted from him this complaint, produced his will, all in the hand-writing of Atticus. He then proceeded to open his charge, and clearly proved him guilty of the most infamous conduct.

At-

Atticinus, after some vain efforts to justify himself, retired ; but his defence appeared as weak, as his accusation was wicked. It was proved that he had bribed a slave belonging to the secretary of Brutianus, and by that means got into his possession his register-book, which he erased, and then made this his villainous act the foundation of a charge against his friend. The emperor's conduct in this tryal was extremely noble : without collecting the voices with respect to Brutianus, he proceeded immediately to take them only in relation to Attianus, and who was accordingly condemned to banishment. Brutianus was acquitted not only with a very full and honorable testimony of his integrity, but with the credit of having behaved in this affair with great resolution. And indeed, after having vindicated his own character in few words, he supported his charge against Atticinus with much spirit, and approved himself no less a man of fortitude than of worth and honesty. I send you this account not only as a caution for your behavior in the government you have obtained, and as a hint to depend upon yourself as much as possible, without relying too far upon your friends ; but that you may be well assured, if you should happen to be imposed upon in the execution of your office (as far be it that you ever should) you will readily meet with satisfaction here.

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However, that you may stand in no need of it, let me entreat you to exert the utmost circumspection of your own vigilance ; for the pleasure of being redressed, most certainly cannot compensate the uneasiness of being deceived. Farewel.

LETTER XXIII. To TRIARIUS.

I Consent to undertake the cause which you so earnestly recommend to me ; but as glorious and honorable as it may be, I will not be your counsel without a fee. Is it possible, you will say, that my friend Pliny should be so mercenary ? indeed it is ; and I insist upon a reward which will do me more honor than the most disinterested patronage. I beg of you then, and indeed I make it a previous condition, that Cremutius Ruso may be joined with me as counsel in this cause. This is a practise which I have frequently observed with respect to several distinguished youths, as indeed I take infinite pleasure in introducing young men of merit to the bar, and assigning them over to fame. But if ever I owed this good office to any man, it is certainly to Ruso, not only upon account of his family, but his tender affection to me ; and it would afford me a very singular satisfaction to have an opportunity of seeing him draw the attention of the audience in

in the same court and the same cause with myself. This I now ask as an obligation to me; but when he has pleaded in your cause, you will esteem it as a favor done to you: for I will be answerable that he acquits himself in a manner equal to your wishes, as well as to my hopes and the importance of the cause. He is a youth of a most excellent disposition, and when once I shall have produced his merit, we shall soon see him exert the same generous office in forwarding that of others; as indeed no man without the support and encouragement of friends, and having proper opportunities thrown in his way, is able to rise at once from obscurity, by the brightness of his own unassisted genius.

LETTER XXIV. To MACER.

HOW much does the fame of human actions depend upon the station of those who perform them! The very same conduct shall be either greatly magnified, or entirely overlooked, as it happens to proceed from a person of conspicuous or obscure rank. I was sailing lately upon our ^a lake, with an old man of my acquaintance, who desired me to observe a villa situated upon its banks,

which

(a) The lake Larius.

which had a chamber hanging over the water. From that room, said he, a woman of our city threw herself and her husband. Upon enquiring into the cause, he informed me, " That her husband having been long afflicted with an ulcer in those parts which modesty conceals, she prevailed with him at last to let her inspect the sore, assuring him at the same time, that she would most sincerely give her opinion whether there was a possibility of its being cured. Accordingly upon viewing the ulcer, she found there was no hopes, and therefore advised him to put an end to his life : to which she not only encouraged him by her example, but was actually the means of his death ; for tying herself to her husband, she plunged with him into the lake." Tho' this happened in the very city where I was born, I never heard it mentioned before ; and yet that this action is less taken notice of than that famous one of Arria's, is not because it was less remarkable, ^b but because the person who performed it was more obscure. Farewel.

(a) See an account of her, B. 3. let. 16.

LETTER XXV. To Hispanus.

YOU inform me, that Robustus, a Roman knight of great distinction, accompanied my friend Attilius Scaurus as far as ^a Oriculum, but has never been heard of since. In compliance, therefore, with your desire, I shall send for Scaurus, in order to see if he can give us any light in tracing him out; tho' I fear, indeed, it will be to no purpose. I suspect an accident of the same unaccountable kind has attended Robustus, as formerly happened to my townsmen Metilius Crispus. I procured a *company* for him in the army, and gave him when he set out 40,000 ^b festerces for his equipage: but I never received any letter from him afterwards, or could learn what became of him. Whether he was murdered by his servants, or together with them, is uncertain; however neither he nor they ever appeared more. I wish we may not find it thus with respect to Robustus; nevertheless I shall send for Scaurus. I cannot refuse this either to your generous request, or the very laudable entreaties of that most excellent youth his son, who discovers as much good sense in

(a) Now Otricoli, in Ombria or the duchy of Spoleto.

(b) About 320*l.* Some editions read it 400,000 festerces, which is about 3200*l.* of our money.

in the method, as he does filial affection in the zeal of his enquiry ; and may he have the same success in finding his father, as he has had in discovering the person that accompanied him ! Farewel.

LETTER XXVI. To SERVIANUS.

I Am extremely rejoiced to hear, that you design your daughter for Fuscus Salinator, and congratulate you upon it. His family is ^a Patrician, and both his father and mother are persons of the most exalted merit. As for himself, he is studious, learned and eloquent, and with all the innocence of a child, unites the sprightliness of youth to the wisdom of age. I am not, believe me, deceived by my affection, when I give him this character ; for tho' I love him, I confess, beyond measure (as his friendship and esteem for me well deserve) yet partiality has no share in my judgment ; on the contrary, the stronger my fondness of him is, the more rigorously I weigh his merit. I will venture then to assure you (and I speak it upon my own experience) you could not have formed to your wish a more accomplished son-in-law.

(a) Those families were styled Patrician, whose ancestors had been members of the senate in the earliest times of the regal or consular government.

law. May he soon present you with a grand-son, who shall be the exact copy of his father! And with what pleasure shall I receive from the arms of two such friends their children or grand-children, whom I shall claim a sort of right to embrace as my own! Farewel.

LETTER XXVII. To SEVERUS.

YOU desire me to consider what turn you should give to your speech in honor of the emperor, upon your being appointed consul ^a elect. It is much easier, amidst that variety of topics which the virtues of this illustrious prince ^b abundantly supply, to find materials for encomium, than to choose them. However, I will send you my sentiments, or what I rather choose, I will give them to you in person, after having laid before you the difficulties which occur to me. I am doubtful then whether I should advise you to pursue the method, which I observed myself on the same occasion. When I was consul elect, I avoided

(a) The consuls, tho' they were chosen in August, did not enter upon their office till the first of January, during which interval they were styled *Consules designati*, consuls elect. It was usual for them upon that occasion to compliment the emperor, by whose appointment, after the dissolution of the republican government, they were chosen.

(b) Trajan.

avoided running into the usual strain of compliment, which however far (as far certainly it would have been) from adulation, might yet bear the semblance of it. Not that I affected an uncommon spirit of freedom ; but as well knowing the sentiments of our amiable prince, and being thoroughly persuaded, that the highest praise I could offer to him, would be to shew the world I was under no necessity of paying him any. When I reflected what profusion of honors had been heap'd upon the very worst of his predecessors, nothing, I imagined, could more distinguish a prince of his real virtues, from those infamous emperors, than to address him in a different manner. And this I thought proper to observe in my speech, lest it might be suspected I passed over his glorious acts, not out of judgment, but inattention. Such was the method I then observed ; but I am sensible the same measures are neither agreeable, nor indeed suitable to all alike. Besides, the propriety of doing or omitting a thing, depends not only upon persons, but time and circumstances ; and as the late actions of our illustrious Prince afford materials for panegyric, no less just than recent and magnificent, I doubt (as I said before) whether I shoud persuade you to act in this case as I did myself. In this, however, I am clear,

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that

that it was proper to offer to your consideration
the plan I pursued. Farewel.

LETTER XXVIII. To PONTIUS.

I Was not ignorant of the reason which prevented your coming into Campania to receive me. But absent as you were, might I have judged by the vast quantity of provisions of all sorts, which I was supplied with by your orders, I should have imagined you had conveyed yourself hither with your whole possessions. I must own I was so arrant a clown, as to take all that was offered me ; however it was in compliance with the solicitations of your people, and fearing you would chide both them and me if I refused. But for the future, if you will not observe some measure, I must. And accordingly I assured your servants, if ever they were thus profuse in their bounty to me again, I would absolutely return the whole. You will tell me, I know, that I ought to consider every thing belonging to you, as entirely mine. I am extremely sensible of that ; and therefore I would use them with the same moderation as my own. Farewel.

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LETTER XXIX. To QUADRATUS.

AVIDIUS QUIETUS, whose affection, and (what I equally value) whose approbation I had the happiness to enjoy, used frequently to repeat this maxim, among others, of his friend Thrasea's; That "there are three sorts of causes which we ought to undertake; those of our friends, those of the deserted, and those which tend to public example." The reason we should engage in the cause of our friends requires no explanation; but the deserted have a claim to our assistance, because it shews a resolute and generous mind; as we ought to rise in the cause where example is concerned, since it is of the last consequence whether a good or evil one prevails. To which I will add (perhaps in the spirit of ambition, however I will add) those of the splendid and illustrious kind. For it is reasonable, no doubt, sometimes to plead the cause of glory and fame, or in other words, *one's own*. These are the limits, (since you ask my sentiments) I would prescribe to a person of your dignity and moderation. Practice, I know, is generally esteemed, and in truth is, the best guide in the art of pleading. I have seen many

who with small genius and no erudition have, merely by that single means, arrived to a good proficiency. Nevertheless, the observation of Pollio, or at least what usually passes for his, I have found by experience to be most true; "A good address" "at the bar, said he, occasioned me much practice; "and, on the other hand, much practice spoiled my "address." The reafon is, by too frequent a repetition it becomes rather a habit than a talent, and degenerates into a rash assurance, rather than settles into a just confidence. Accordingly we see the great modesty of Isocrates, which, together with the weakness of his voice, prevented his appearing in public, did not by any means obstruct his attaining the character of a consummate orator. Let me farther advise you, to read and write, and meditate much, that you may be able to speak when ever you choose; and you never will choose it, but when you ought. *That* at least is the restriction I laid down to myself. I have sometimes, indeed, pleaded, not so much from the single motive of reason, as (which, however, is the same thing) necessity, having upon some occasions been appointed counsel by order of the senate; but it was in cases which fell within Thrasea's third rule, that is, of the exemplary kind. I was advocate for the province of Boetica, against Baebius

Massa;

Massa ; where the question being, whether they should be allowed to prosecute him, it passed in the affirmative. I appeared for them a second time against Cæcilius Clæssicus, and the point in debate was, whether the provincial officers who acted under him in his proconsulship, should be deemed accomplices with him ? It was determined they should ; and they were punished accordingly. I was counsel against Marius Priscus, who having been convicted of bribery, endeavored to take advantage of the lenity of the law in that case, the penalty of which was by no means adequate to his enormous guilt : but he was sentenced to banishment. I defended Julius Bassus in an affair in which he had acted imprudently, 'tis true, but not in the least with any ill intention : the matter was referred to the ordinary judges, and he was permitted in the mean while to retain his seat in the senate. I pleaded likewise not long since, on behalf of Varenus, who petitioned for leave to examine witnesses on his part ; which was granted him. And now I will only wish, that I may, for the future have such causes enjoined me by authority, which it would become me to appear in by choice. Farewel.

LETTER XXX. To FABATUS.

I Have the highest reason, most certainly, to celebrate your birth-day as my own, since all the happiness of mine arises from yours, to whose care and diligence it is owing, that I am cheerful in town and easy in the country.—Your Camillian^a villa in Campania, has suffered by the injuries of time, and is falling into decay; however, the most valuable parts of the building either remain entire, or are but slightly damaged, and it shall be my care to see it put in thorough repair.—Tho' I flatter myself I have many friends, yet scarce any, I doubt, of the sort you enquire after, and which the affair you mention demands. All mine lie among those whose employments engage them in town; whereas the conduct of country business requires a person of a rough cast, and enured to labor, who will not look upon the office as mean, and can submit to a solitary life. The opinion you have of Rufus is suitable to one, distinguished as he was, by the friendship of your son, but what service he can be of to us upon this occasion, I know not; tho' I am well persuaded, he will rejoice to have it in his power to do us any. Farewel.

(a) So called, because it formerly belonged to Camillus.

LETTER XXXI. To CORNELIANUS.

I Received lately the most exquisite entertainment imaginable at ^a Centumcellæ, (as it is now called) being summoned thither by Cæsar ^b to attend him as one of his assessors. Could any thing indeed afford a higher pleasure, than to see the emperor exercising his justice, his wisdom, and his affability, even in retirement, where those virtues are most observable? Various were the points that were brought in judgment before him, and which proved, in so many different instances, the great abilities of the judge. The cause of Claudio Ariston came on first. He is an Ephesian nobleman, of great munificence and unambitious popularity, whose virtues having render'd him obnoxious to a set of people of far different characters, they had spirited up an informer against him, of the same infamous stamp with themselves; but he was honorably acquitted. The next day, the cause of Gallita, accused of adultery, was determined. Her husband, who is a military tribune, was upon the point of offering himself as a candidate for certain

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honors

(a) Supposed to be *Civita Vecchia*.

(b) Trajan.

honors at Rome, but she had disgraced both him and herself by an intrigue with a ^c centurion. The husband informed the consul's lieutenant, who wrote to the emperor concerning it. Cæsar, having examined the proofs, broke the centurion, and sentenced him to banishment. It remained that some punishment should be inflicted likewise upon the other party, as it is a crime of which both must necessarily be equally guilty. But the husband's affection for his wife inclined him to drop that part of the prosecution, not without some suspicion of connivance; for he continued to live with her, even after he had commenced this prosecution, contenting himself, it should seem, with having removed his rival. But he was ordered to proceed in the suit; which tho' he did with great reluctance, it was necessary, however, she should be condemned. And she accordingly was, being given up to the punishment directed by the ^d Julian law. The emperor thought proper to specify, in his decree, the name and office of the centurion, that it might appear he passed it in virtue of military discipline; lest it should be imagined he claimed a particular cognizance

(c) An officer in the Roman legions, something resembling a captain in our companies.

(d) This law was made by Augustus Cæsar, but it no where clearly appears what was the peculiar punishment it inflicted.

cognizance in every cause of the same nature. The third day was employed in examining into an affair which had occasioned much and various speculation; it was concerning the will of Julius Tiro, part of which was plainly genuine, the other part, it was said, was forged. The persons accused of this fraud were Sempronius Senecio, a Roman knight, and Eurythmus, Cæsar's freed-man and ^e procurator. The heirs jointly petitioned the emperor, when he was in ^f Dacia, that he would reserve to himself the tryal of this cause; to which he accordingly consented. At his return from that expedition, he appointed a day for the hearing; and when some of the heirs, as in respect to Eurythmus, offered to withdraw the suit, the emperor nobly replied, *He is not Polycletus^g, nor am I Nero.* However, he indulged the petitioners with an adjournment, and the time being expired, he now sat to hear the cause. Two of the heirs appeared, and desired, that either their whole number might be compelled to plead, as they had all joined in the information, or that they also might have leave to desist. Cæsar spoke with great

(e) An officer employed by the emperors to receive and regulate the public revenue in the provinces.

(f) Comprehending Transylvania, Moldavia, and Walachia.

(g) Polycletus was a freed-man, and great favorite of Nero.

great wisdom and moderation ; and when the consul on the part of Senecio and Eurythmus said, that unless their clients were heard, they would remain under the suspicion of guilt. *I am not concerned,* said the emperor, *what suspicions they may lie under, 'tis I that am suspected;* and then turning to us, *Advise me,* said he, *how to act in this affair, for you see they complain that I do not give them leave to withdraw their suit.* At length, by the advice of the council, he ordered notice to be given to the heirs, that they should either go on with the cause, or each of them justify their reasons for not doing so ; otherwise that he would pass sentence upon them as ^h calumniators. Thus you see how usefully and seriously we spent our time, which however was intermixed with diversions of the most agreeable kind. We were every day invited to Cæsar's table, which, for so great a prince, was spread with much plainness and simplicity. There we were either entertained with interludes, or passed the night in the most agreeable conversation. When we took our leave of him the

last

(h) Memmius, or Rhemmius (the critics are not agreed which) was author of a law, by which it was enacted, That whosoever was convicted of calumny or false accusation, should be stigmatized with a mark in his forehead : and by the law of the twelve tables, false accusers were to suffer the same punishment as would have been inflicted upon the person unjustly accused, if the crime had been proved.

last day, he made each of us presents; so studious is he to exert the benevolence of his temper upon all occasions! As for myself, I was not only charmed with the dignity and wisdom of the judge, the honor done to the assessors, the ease and unreserved freedom of the conversation, but with the agreeable situation of the place. This delightful villa is surrounded by the most verdant meadows, and commands a fine view of the sea, which forms itself here into a spacious harbor, in the figure of an amphitheatre. The left-hand of this port is defended by exceeding strong works, as they are now actually employed in carrying on the same on the opposite side. An artificial island, which is rising in the mouth of the harbor, will break the force of the waves, and afford a safe passage to ships on each side. In order for the construction of this wonderful instance of art, stones of a most enormous size are transported hither in a sort of pontoons, and being thrown one upon the other, are fixed by their own weight, gradually accumulating in the manner, as it were, of a sand-bank. It already lifts its rocky back above the ocean, while the waves which beat upon it, being tossed to an immense height, foam with a prodigious noise, and whiten all the sea round. To these stones are added large piles, which in time will give it the appearance of a natural island. This haven is to be called by the name of its great author,

thorⁱ, and will prove of infinite benefit, by affording a very secure retreat to ships on that extensive and dangerous coast. Farewel.

LETTER XXXII. To QUINTILIAN.

THO' your desires, I know, are extremely moderate, and the education which your daughter has received, is suitable to your character, and that of Tutilius her grandfather; yet as she is going to be married to a person of so great distinction as Nonius Celer, whose station requires a certain splendor of living, it will be necessary to consider the rank of her husband in her cloaths and equipage: circumstances which tho' they do not augment our real dignity, yet certainly adorn and grace it. But as I am sensible your fortune is not equal to the greatness of your mind, I claim to myself a part in your expence, and like another father, present the young lady with fifty thousand ^a festerces. The sum should be larger, but that I am well persuaded the smallness of the present, is the only consideration that can prevail with your modesty not to refuse it. Farewel.

(i) Trajan.

(2) About 400 l. of our money.

LETTER XXXIII. To ROMANUS.

THROW; *t*hrow your tasks aside, the sovereign said^a. Thus whether you are engaged in reading or writing, away with your books and papers, and take up my divine oration, as those Cyclops did the arms of Æneas. Now tell me, could I introduce my speech to you with an air of more assurance? But in good earnest, I put it into your hands as the best of my performances; for it is myself only that I pretend to rival. It was spoken in defence of Accia Variola; and the dignity of the person interested in it, the singularity of the occasion, together with the majesty of the tribunal, conspire to render it extremely remarkable. Figure to yourself a lady ennobled not only by her birth, but her marriage to a person of Prætorian rank, disinherited by her father, and suing for her patrimony in the centumviral court, within eleven days after this old man, seized with a fit of love when he was fourscore years of age, had brought home a mother-in-law to his daughter. Imagine the solemnity of a court of justice, composed of one hundred and eighty judges, (for that is the number of which it consists) friends innumerable attend-

(a) *Æn.* 8. Pitt's Transl. the speech of Vulcan to his Cyclops, when he directs them to prepare arms for Æneas.

(b) Sidoneus Apollinaris says, that Pliny acquired more honor by this speech, even than by his incomparable panegyric upon Trajan.

attending on both parties ; the benches infinitely thronged, and a deep circle of people encompassing the judges, at the same time that numbers pressed round the tribunal ; even the very galleries lined with men and women, hanging over with the greatest earnestness, (who though they might see tolerably well, it was scarce possible for them to hear a word;) represent to yourself, in short, fathers, daughters, and mothers-in-law, all deeply interesting themselves in the event of this important trial. The sentiments of the judges were divided, two of the courts being for us, and two against us. It is something remarkable, that the same question debated before the same judges, and pleaded by the same advocates, and at the same time, should happen to receive so different a decision, that one would almost imagine it was more than accident. However, in the final event, the mother-in-law, who claimed under the will a sixth part of the inheritance, lost her cause. Suberinus^c, was also excluded his pretensions ; who tho' he was disinherited by his father, without daring to vindicate his own patrimony, had yet the singular assurance to demand that of another's. I have been thus particular in giving you a detail of the circumstances which attended this cause, not only that my letter might inform

(c) This Suberinus (the commentators suppose) was son to the woman whom Accia's father had married in his old age.

inform you of what you could not learn by my speech ; but also (for I will honestly own the artifice) in order to your reading it with more pleasure, by being thus introduced, as it were, into the audience. And extensive as this pleading is, I do not despair of its recommending itself to you, as much as if it had the grace of brevity. The abundance of matter, the just order in which it is placed, the little narrations that are distributed throughout, together with the variety of the stile, will always give it an air of novelty. I will even venture to say to you (what I durst not to any one else) that a spirit of great fire and sublimity breaks out in many parts of it, at the same time that in others it is wrought up with much delicacy and closeness of reasoning. I was frequently obliged to intermix dry computations with the elevated and pathetic, and to descend from the orator almost to the accountant ; so that you will sometimes imagine the scene was changed from the solemnity of the centumviral tribunal, to that of a private and inferior one. I gave a loose to my indignation, my resentment, and my compassion, and in steering thro' this illustrious cause, was governed by turns with every varying gust of the passions. In a word, my particular friends look upon this speech (and I will venture to repeat it again)

as

as my best performance, and esteem it the ^a *Ctesiphon* of my orations: whether with reason or not, you will easily judge, who have them all so perfectly in your memory, as to be able while you are reading this to compare it with my former, without the trouble of turning to them. Farewel.

LETTER XXXIV. To MAXIMUS.

VOU were extremely in the right to promise a combat of Gladiators to our good friends the citizens of Verona^b, not only as they have long since distinguished you with their peculiar esteem and veneration; but as it was from thence also you received that amiable object of your most tender affection, your late excellent wife. And since you owed some monument or public shew to her memory, what other spectacle could you have exhibited more proper to the ^c occasion? Besides, you

(d) An oration of Demosthenes in defence of Ctesiphon, esteemed the best of that noble orator's speeches.

(a) In the territories of the republic of Venice.

(b) It was an opinion which unhappily prevailed in the antient pagan world, that the ghosts of the deceased were rendered propitious by human blood. This absurd notion gave rise to these barbarous gladiatorial combats, which at first were only exhibited at funeral obsequies, and none but criminals were appointed to those mortal encounters. But in proceſs of time they became part of the public entertainments, and persons were trained up on purpose to these inhuman shews.

you were so unanimously pressed to do so, that to have refused, would have had the appearance rather of obstinacy than resolution. The readiness with which you granted this request, and the magnificent manner in which you performed it, is much to your honor ; for a greatness of soul is seen in these smaller instances, as well as in matters of higher moment. I am sorry the African Panthers, which you had largely provided for this purpose, did not arrive time enough ; but tho' they were delayed by the tempestuous season, the obligation to you is equally the same, since it was not your fault that they were not exhibited. Farewel.

(c) The amphitheatre in which these shews were exhibited, is still to be seen in Verona, whose inside is the most entire of any now in being. It is computed to have room to contain upwards of three and twenty thousand spectators to fit commodiously. Vid. Wright's Travels.

